THE BEGINNINGS OF ARMINIANISM

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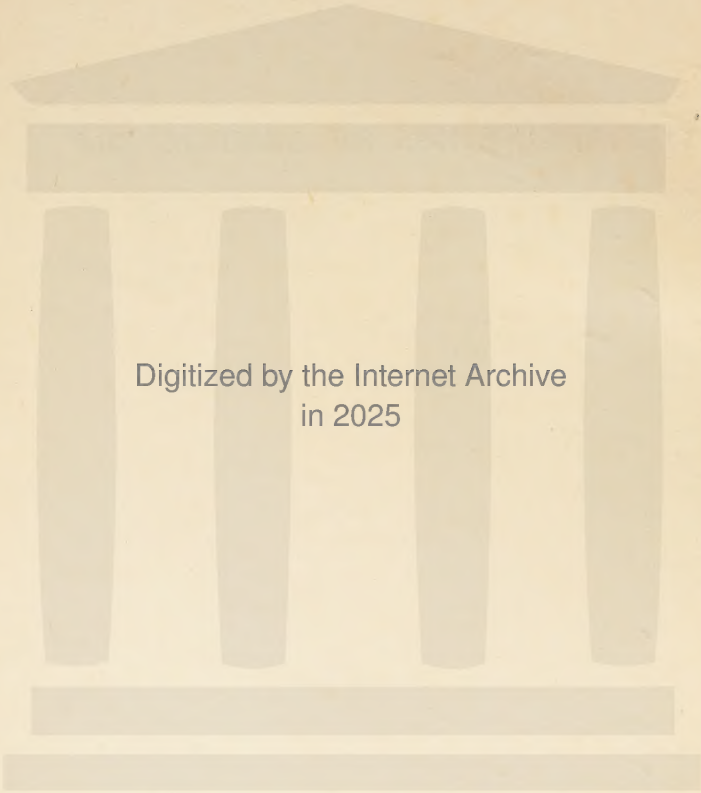
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THE BEGINNINGS OF ARMINIANISM

TO THE SYNOD OF DORT

K. Steve McCormick

BY

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VICE-PRINCIPAL OF WESTMINSTER TRAINING COLLEGE

> "Indeed, the whole subject is Dutch built; heavy-bottomed, with an internal fire and significance indeed, but extremely wrapt in buckram and lead."
>
> CARLYLE ON CROMWELL
> (*Letters*, Feb. 15th, 1839)

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TO

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

"THAT FAMOUS UNIVERSITY AND RENOWNED COMMONWEALTH, WHICH HAS BEEN AS IT WERE A SANCTUARY OF LIBERTY."—MILTON.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF ARMINIANISM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Modern Europe begins with the Reformation rather than with the Renaissance. When Luther burnt the papal Bull of Excommunication, thousands of people discovered that they had entered into a new world. The burning of the Bastille was the next act of destruction in man's revolutionary progress. The spiritual overlord was the first of the absolute masters of mankind to be challenged ; it was inevitable that the temporal overlord would also be overthrown when the common man had fully worked out the syllogism. That difficult intellectual exercise occupied 283 years. There were, however, many interruptions ; a Thirty Years' War over the first premise proved to be a serious distraction and also resolute thinkers are rare. Man also is something more than a logician. Storms of emotion sweep him out of the course and, when winds are difficult, an infinite patience is needed to tack backwards and forwards without many signs of progress.

If we find that many of the creative forces which are now operative in western civilization had their birth in the Reformation, we must not allow an undue influence to the volcanic and picturesque figure of Luther. The Reformation should not be regarded as a circle with Luther as the centre ; it is rather an ellipse with two foci. If we go to Wittenberg to read Luther's *Theses* on the door of the Church of All Saints, we must also

go to Geneva to see Calvin's republic. Calvin was of the second generation of the Reformers, and was not afraid to speak of Luther as his master, yet it has become customary to regard him as the more important figure. A modern French Protestant puts the comparison between the two men into the form of a question: "Do you prefer the ardour which throws down the three walls of the old Babylon or the will and genius which build the ramparts of the new Zion?" His own answer is that of the child who was asked to choose between his father and his mother: "I prefer them both."[1] While not entirely sharing M. Doumergue's filial devotion to the two great leaders, we may recognize the fact that their strong qualities were complementary and were not unrepresentative of their respective countries. In rugged courage, masterfulness, poetry and in a certain depth of sentiment, Luther expresses what is best in the life of his country. We do not turn to Calvin for Gallic wit or sprightliness, but we find there French clarity of thought, pungency of temper and servitude to ideas. Conventional national traits may be exaggerated, yet there can be no doubt that nationality played a large part in dividing Protestantism into its Lutheran, Reformed and Anglican branches, and some elements of that cleavage along national lines found expression in the characters of Calvin and Luther.

Yet the essential genius of both men was practical. The monk and the scholar were men of action, not because they were unfitted for the monastery and the study, but because their conceptions were dynamic. If a conception deepens into a conviction it ceases at once to be static or rotatory, it must find an outlet in action. The discussions in Milton's Hell "found no end in wandering mazes lost" because they were not based on convictions. Luther was the most effective man of his age; the age of Charles V, Francis I, Michael Angelo, and Wolsey. Calvin's genius was not speculative; it was practical. Brunetière has said, "Pour connaître Calvin on n'a besoin que de l'*Institution*

[1] E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, Preface to Vol. IV.

Chrétienne." [1] In that case one must be endowed with remarkable powers of deduction; most people need to understand Calvin's Geneva before they begin to understand Calvin. If we follow Brunetière's dictum, however, and turn to the *Institutes* we discover that his theology is practical rather than metaphysical. They begin with man's knowledge of God and the effect of that knowledge on human life. The aim of his doctrine is the reformation of character. So the *Shorter Catechism* begins with the question, "What is the chief end of man?" Calvin's theology leads him eventually into the realm of metaphysics when he discusses predestination, but his Deity is the God of the decrees, of the Senate and the Court rather than the Absolute of the philosopher. Calvin is significant rather as a statesman than as a theologian. Indeed, Luther was the more original of the two men, not only in the expression of his thought but in the content of it. Had Luther been able to rid himself of his medieval conceptions, to have pushed his doctrines of Christian liberty to their logical issues, he would have been accorded a much higher place in the history of thought. Calvin was the exponent of an authority as rigid as the ecclesiasticism of the medieval Church. He began with the sovereignty of God and worked downwards; Luther began with justification by faith and worked upwards to the throne of heaven, through the Person and Work of the Redeemer. It was the work of Calvin to codify and interpret the theology of the Reformers; to Luther was given the greater function of first expressing it. Between the two came Zwingli, more radical and philosophical than either, and less religious. His influence remained in the teaching of those who superseded him.

It is one of the paradoxes of history that Calvinism should have been so frequently associated with democracies and Lutheranism with aristocracies; for Calvin was ever the aristocrat in spirit, and Luther the child of the people. Luther was the peasant to the day of

[1] Quoted Doumergue, IV, 1.

his death; "My forbears were all genuine peasants," he used to say. His appeal was ever popular, and he won the heart of the common man by words that were "half-battles." His attitude at the Diet of Worms is the vindication of the liberty of the Christian man. The religious fervour with which his faith looked for justification to God alone set men on their feet erect and free. It should have led on to modern democracy. Yet whenever radicalism touched Luther he became instinctively more conservative. He shrank from the social programme of the oppressed German peasants with horror, and wrote his tract *Against the Murdering, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, in which he urged that they should be killed "like mad dogs." The reproach of the Peasants' War, of the enthusiasm of the Anabaptists, of the advanced views of Zwingli and Carlstadt seems to have been the nightmare of his later years. The fear of the discredit they might bring to the good cause led him to modify some of the most precious of his discoveries. The strong support given to him by the Elector of Saxony, by Philip of Hesse and other Protestant princes helped to produce the aristocratic constitution of the Lutheran Church. The religious peace of Augsburg (1555) was based on Erastian principles. The religion of each area varied according to that of its ruler, the accepted formula being "*cujus regio ejus religio*."

So it came to pass that the peasant created an organization, the government of which was aristocratic and subjected the Lutheran Church to the decrees of the State not only in temporalities but in spiritual affairs also. Civil governors had the power of determining what is true religion according to the divine definition and of suppressing all that was opposed to it; such was the teaching of Luther.[1] Calvin, however, insisted on the right of the Church to determine God's will and Christian truth: it might then call in the State as its handmaid to fulfil its behests. In this respect he seemed nearer to the old system, for the new Presbyter became, as Milton said, "but old Priest writ

[1] Cf. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, I, 412, 413.

large." Calvinism seemed to prefer an aristocracy of theologians and clerics; Lutheranism, an aristocracy of princes and nobles. In reality, the strenuous endeavours of Calvinism to produce an educated Christian community resulted in the virile individualism of Holland and Scotland. However it be explained, Calvinism seemed to look towards greater political and ecclesiastical liberty than Lutheranism. Its use of elders and deacons instructed the "common man" in pastoral duties, while the presence of the elder in church courts had much to do with the rise of the seventeenth-century ideas of representative government.

The central conception of the Presbyterian discipline or order of church government was that of a graded series of courts in which appeals could be made from the lower to the next above it. The lowest court was that of the Consistory, or Kirk Session, as it is now called in Scotland; it was composed of the pastors and elders of the local church which the Consistory represented.[1] The Consistory might, if necessary, call in to its deliberations such members of the church as was thought fit. Above the Consistory was the Classis, or Colloquy (now known as the Presbytery), which represented a group of churches. The Colloquy consisted of all the ministers of the several churches, together with one elder (or two) elected by each Consistory. In France it was supposed to meet "twice, or if possible, four times yearly."[2] Above the Colloquy were the Provincial and National Synods, which met annually if possible. Different countries had minor differences in detail owing to the fact that some were state churches and some were churches "under the cross," but the general scheme was the same and remains the same in modern Presbyterianism. The National Synod of Scotland is now known as the General Assembly. There was one peculiarity of the Dutch organization which must be borne in mind if many controversies of Remonstrant and Contra-Remon-

[1] Mrs. Campbell, *Discipline or Book of Order of Reformed Churches of France*, 1559, translated from 1675 ed., p. 16.

[2] *Discipline*, p. 25.

strant are to be understood. In the Dutch Church all the church members inhabiting a city are regarded as one congregation. "The ministers are the pastors of the city, preaching in turn in all its buildings set apart for public worship, and the people are not considered to be specially attached to any one of the buildings, nor to belong to the flock of any one of the ministers, and therefore there is one consistory for a whole city." [1] The representative nature of the discipline played its part side by side with the Calvinist doctrine in creating the men who were to prove such strong opponents of Spain and the Counter-Reformation in the years that lay ahead.

There were differences of doctrine between Luther and Calvin, but they were of less moment than their different theories of church organization. Luther began his theology with his sense of God's forgiving love in Christ; Calvin with the power and ordaining will of God. We may not say that Luther's religious sense was more developed than that of Calvin, but we know more of his conversion and the stages that led up to it. We are nearer to the warm depths of a vivid personality when we talk with him, while Calvin keeps us somewhat at a distance. Yet Calvin is not the cold professor of some men's imaginations. M. Doumergue seeks to demonstrate his humanity by the fact that he had no fear of three glasses of wine. There is no need of so dubious a proof as that. His world-wide correspondence with so many great personalities, his deep but almost silent grief over his wife's death,[2] and his unflagging enthusiasm for his cause in spite of all physical disabilities are sufficient to destroy the fiction that he was the type of man whose over-developed powers of intellect and will arise from the absence of any qualities of the heart. Nor can such steadfastness and authority be regarded as possible without an intensely vigorous religious life. If Luther began his study of men with

[1] Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 272.

[2] But see T. H. Dyer, *Life of John Calvin*, pp. 99, 100, 241 ff., on this subject.

their feeling of guilt, Calvin began with their sense of misery, and found his comfort and hope for men in the good purpose of the Creator of all.[1] Baur's statement that the Lutheran theology was constructed *von unten nach oben* while Calvinistic theology was constructed *von oben nach unten* is only partially true. Calvin began not with God the Absolute, but with man's knowledge of God, and our comparisons between the two Reformers must not blind us to the fact that their theology was essentially one. They differed in emphasis in many points, and seem at first sight to diverge considerably on the meaning of the Lord's Supper and the doctrine of the Church. Even here their agreements are more real than their differences. "According to Luther's opinion the body of Christ descends miraculously during the sacrament, and is brought into such connexion with the outward symbols of bread and wine, that it is not only present with them, but *in* them, and *under* them, and can thus be received through the mouth by anybody who partakes of the symbols, and even therefore by a man without faith. But according to Calvin the body does not descend into the sacrament, but the soul of the recipient ascends into heaven through faith; and being thus brought into contact with Christ's body, receives a power of holy life."[2] This is their chief doctrinal difference. Calvin was compelled to make his doctrine of Predestination more and more central, but it is difficult to find that on this subject he really differed from Luther at all. Both of them went further than Augustine himself. Grotius pointed out at a later date that Augustine held that grace helps and renews free will rather than takes it away.[3] Erasmus had tried to say the same thing to Luther, quoting the words of the African father, "God draws us in the

[1] *Institutes*, I, ch. i, 1: "There exists in man something like a world of misery." I, ch. ii, s.: "He by whom God is known . . . reclines upon Him with sure confidence."

[2] Planck, quoted by Dyer, pp. 248, 249.

[3] *Epp. Grotii* to Boetelaer, November 1615.

same way as we draw a sheep, by holding out to it a green bough," and arguing that we must therefore have the will and power to follow God. Luther in his reply on the *Bondage of the Will* (1525) is very contemptuous. "Christians are not led by Free Will but by the Spirit of God: and to be led is not to lead, but to be impelled as a saw or an axe is impelled by a carpenter." If Erasmus considered that the weight of authority was on his side, Luther brushes the fathers away with the crisp judgment, "Many were accounted saints on earth whose souls are now in hell."[1] He never wavered in his assurance that man lost his freedom of will at the Fall, and in his *Table-Talk* we find him going back to the old controversy: "This is my absolute opinion: he that will maintain that man's free will is able to do or work anything in spiritual cases, be they never so small, denies Christ. This I have always maintained in my writings, especially in those against Erasmus, one of the learnedest men in the whole world. . . . I confess mankind has a free will, but it is to milk kine, to build houses, etc., and no further; . . . the will of mankind works nothing at all in his conversion and justification."[2] Calvin takes the same position and approaches it by the same route as Luther. He wastes no time over philosophical disputes: if Aristotle or Seneca or Plato appear in this discussion they are corrected by passages of Scripture and never met on their own ground. The complete depravity of fallen human nature makes any movement towards God on man's part impossible. "Let it stand, therefore, as an indubitable truth, which no engines can shake, that the mind of man is so entirely alienated from the righteousness of God that he cannot conceive, desire, or design anything but what is wicked, distorted, foul, impure, and iniquitous; that his heart is so thoroughly envenomed by sin that it can breathe out nothing but corruption and rottenness; that if some men occasionally make a show of goodness, their mind is ever

[1] *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525 edition, pages unnumbered).
[2] *Table-Talk* (Bohn's Library), pp. 119, 120.

interwoven with hypocrisy and deceit, their soul inwardly bound with the fetters of wickedness." [1] If grace is entirely ruled out from the realm of the natural, the whole Calvinistic creed of a limited redemption, individual election, and reprobation by the mere fiat of the Almighty logically follows. Calvin therefore proceeded to finish his work with that complete regard for logic and careful desire to elaborate a system which Luther never professed. It must not be imagined that the subtle mind of Calvin had not faced most of the criticisms that have since been urged against the doctrine of election as he expounds it. It would be sufficient to read his four chapters on the subject in the third book of the *Institutes* to disprove such a notion. He was accustomed to call this the labyrinth, and we find him wandering this way and that way in this tortuous maze, but ever coming back to the cry of St. Paul, "Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" [2]

The problem of human responsibility in a monistic universe in which the will of God is supreme may be insoluble, but importunate man will continue to press his questions. He will ask how it is then possible that God is not the author of sin, or what safeguards against Antinomianism can remain, or what reality is there in an evangelical appeal to men who are already chosen to eternal life or reprobated to eternal death. Calvin meets all these and many other questions without wincing, though we cannot feel that he is always happy in his replies. On the subject of the futility of evangelism he says, "There are two kinds of calling: for there is an universal call, by which God, through the external preaching of the word, invites all men alike, even those for whom He designs the call to be a savour of death, and the ground of a severer condemnation. Besides this there is a special call which, for the most part, God bestows on believers only, when by the internal illumination of the Spirit He causes the word

[1] *Institutes*, Book II, ch. v, 19.

[2] Cf. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, IV, 374–82 for many passages in the *Commentaries*.

preached to take deep root in their hearts."[1] So in another place, after discussing the passage in Amos (iv, 7) in which there is promised rain to one city and drought to another, and the fact that Paul was led from Asia and Bithynia to preach in Macedonia, he declares that "it is evident that the doctrine of Salvation, which is said to be set apart for the sons of the Church only, is abused when it is represented as effectually available for all."[2] Perhaps the best putting of the great issue in its tersest form is in these words: "We say, then, that Scripture clearly proves this much, that God, by His eternal and immutable counsel, determined once for all those whom it was His pleasure one day to admit to salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, it was His pleasure to doom to destruction. We maintain that this counsel, as regards the elect, is founded on His free mercy, without any respect to human worth, while those whom He dooms to destruction are excluded from access to life by a just and blameless, but at the same time incomprehensible judgment."[3] Even Calvin shudders at the application of this truth to whole nations, men, women and little children, condemned to eternal death by the will of God. This is perhaps the most famous passage in his great book, and it has been frequently misunderstood when the Latin version *decretum quidem horribile fateor* has been translated "a horrible decree I confess," and men have assumed that the great Reformer has turned against all his precepts and brought a charge of injustice against the Almighty. The original French will make his meaning clear: "Je confesse que ce décret doit nous espovanter (épouvanter)." It is the sense of awe and dread that one should feel in the presence of such a mystery of which Calvin is speaking.[4] The context also will make this plain. "I again ask how it is that the fall of Adam involves so many nations with their infant children in eternal death without remedy, unless that it so seemed meet to God? Here the most loquacious tongues must

[1] *Institutes*, Book III, ch. xxiv, 8. [2] Ibid., ch. xxii, 10.
[3] Ibid., ch. xxi, 7. [4] Cf. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, IV, 377, 378.

be dumb. The decree is, I admit, dreadful; and yet it is impossible to deny that God foreknew what the end of man was to be before He made him, and foreknew, because He had so ordained by His decree." [1]

If there was no real difference between Calvin and Luther on this subject, the same cannot be said of the followers of Luther after his death. In Lutheran theology, Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* was as influential as Calvin's *Institutes* in the Reformed Churches. It was first published in 1521, revised in 1535, and again in 1543. These revisions show a steady departure from the rigid determinism of his earlier writing. Calvin realized this, although he either translated or had the *Loci Communes* translated into French in 1546.[2] In speaking of Free Will, Melanchthon rejects what he terms "the insanities of the Manichæans, who pretend there is a certain number of men whom they term ὑλικοὺς καὶ χοϊκοὺς (wooden and earthy), who cannot be converted." [3] By 1559 the conversion of Melanchthon was completed, and he had come round to the position of Erasmus on the subject of Free Will, which Luther had attacked with so much violence. The theologians have chosen to call his compromise between the positions of Augustine and Pelagius, Synergism. We may not like the name and yet may be willing to hear what Melanchthon has to say after much meditation on a difficult subject. "Three causes unite in producing a good action: the Word of God, the Holy Spirit and the human will giving its assent and not resisting the Word of God, for it can repel it." "God goes before us, calls, moves, helps, but we will see that we do not fight against Him. Erasmus says, Free Will is the ability to give ourselves up to grace." [4] Gradually

[1] *Institutes*, Book III, ch. xxiii, 7.

[2] Cf. Dyer, *Life of Calvin*, p. 228. Cf. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, IV, 356.

[3] *Loci Communes*, IV, Opera XXI, p. 659.

[4] Ibid., Opera XXI, p. 658. See Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, IV, 406, and W. B. Pope, *Christian Theology*, II, 389.

the views of Melanchthon won their way in Lutheran circles, and they were not without some influence among other Protestants.

The first preachers of Reformation principles in the Low Countries were followers of Luther. It was at a later date that the disciples of Zwingli made their appearance, and the French-speaking provinces were evangelized largely by Huguenots or Swiss Protestants who belonged to the school of Calvin. The influence of Geneva prevailed more and more, until a gathering of delegates from the persecuted Churches in the Netherlands was held over the frontier, at Emden, in 1569, at which the main lines of the Presbyterian system of church government were adopted.[1] If the influence of French Protestantism had prevailed over that of Germany, it was partly due to the fact that the Huguenot was in a similar position under the government of Catherine de Medici to that of the "Beggars" under Philip of Spain. By adopting, at the same time, the *Heidelberg Catechism* in the Dutch-speaking, and the *Geneva Catechism* in the French-speaking congregations, the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands were definitely committed to the theology of Calvin. Their own Confession of Faith also had, by this time, been produced in French by Guido de Brès, a native of Mons,[2] who died at the stake in 1567. It was based on the Confession of the French Church, and was published in 1566 with an address to Philip II after de Brès had discussed its contents with other ministers, and became known as the *Belgic Confession.* It was afterwards translated into Dutch, German and Latin, and at the first Synod of Dort (June 16th–28th, 1574) was approved by the clergy of Holland and Zeeland as their standard of doctrine.[3] Not only were ministers

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 294.

[2] Vinke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Nederlandicæ*, Pref., p. xi.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 311. Probably first form drawn up in 1561. See Vinke, Pref., p. xxx.

ordered to subscribe to it, but also elders and deacons.[1] Indeed the Churches had accepted it three years before at another Emden gathering. By 1574, however, the United Provinces had laid the firm foundation of their liberty, and the Protestants began to lift up their heads and make arrangements for a Church which should be national by legal establishment instead of by unwilling consent. The Calvinistic nature of the Confession may be seen by the rejection of Free Will in the 14th Article, the complete approval of the doctrine of Total Depravity in the 15th and the statement of the doctrine of Predestination in the 16th. That Article runs as follows: "We believe that when the whole offspring of Adam had fallen in perdition and ruin by the sin of the first man, God manifested Himself to be (what He is in reality) merciful and righteous. Merciful, by delivering and keeping from that perdition those whom in His eternal and unchangeable counsel He has chosen and elected of His own pure goodness in Jesus Christ our Saviour without any regard to their works. Just, by leaving the rest in the ruin and destruction into which they had plunged themselves."[2] It will be seen that this is not an extreme exposition of the doctrine of Predestination. It definitely accepts the Infralapsarian view and is not followed by any discussion of the dark question of Reprobation. Nevertheless, from time to time, there were found rebels in the Reformed Churches of the United Provinces who were not prepared to go even so far as that.

The general tendency seems to have been rather to deepen the colours in which a perishing world was depicted and to out-Calvin Calvin in descriptions of the depravity of lost human nature. Beza went further in this direction than his master, and we shall find Gomarus and others going beyond Beza. We may find it difficult to appreciate that gloomy fanaticism which seems to address the Almighty

[1] Vinke, Pref., p. xxiii.

[2] Vinke, pp. 1–285 for *Belgic Confession* in French, Dutch and Latin versions.

almost in the very terms of the character whom Burns has immortalized :

> O Thou, wha in the heavens dost dwell,
> Wha, as it pleases best Thysel',
> Sends ane to heaven and ten to hell,
> A' for Thy glory,
> And no for onie guid or ill
> They've done afore Thee !

But we shall make no progress at all in attempting to understand these men if we do not make a serious effort to put ourselves back in their time and place. A twentieth-century historian may weigh the merits of Protestant and Catholic with cool detachment and evolve wise maxims on the futility of theological discussions and the wickedness of the wars of religion ; for the Protestants of that age the period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation was a burning fiery furnace. If they escaped with their lives, they felt it was "so as by fire." The Dutchman who had won a country for himself and some measure of freedom through rivers of blood was not inclined to be very tolerant towards a power which he regarded as the very embodiment of tyranny. It was idle to invite him to consider the good qualities in Spanish religion, or even in any form of Roman Catholicism. That Church was to him the Antichrist, the beast coming up out of the sea with ten horns and seven heads, Babylon the Great the mother of harlots, the woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and whatever strange and terrible image of cruelty and foulness the book of the Revelation might summon to the chambers of his imagination. Those persecuted people thought of the persecuting power of the Roman Church exactly as the early Christians thought of Nero and Diocletian. To-day we may be able to show that there was a measure of exaggeration and injustice in these sentiments, but we cannot alter the fact that fifty thousand Flemings and Germans are said to have been hanged, burnt or buried alive under Charles V. An even greater number of

Huguenots were massacred in France alone in the months of August and September 1572.[1] Whatever estimate is made of the loss of life in these bitter attempts at suppression, the executions of the French Revolution and the Bolshevik revolt are child's play in comparison. Moreover, men were not unaware of the fact that the Pope had declared that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day was more agreeable to him than fifty victories over the Turk at Lepanto. The guns of St. Angelo were fired the evening the news of it was received in Rome, and the city was illuminated for three nights.[2] We must grope our way back to that passionate and alarming age. Men who were right were convinced that they were wholly right and that their opponents were wholly wrong. The neutral man was immediately suspect. When assassination was rife and even defended by earnest religious teachers, all kinds of suspicion were awake. Moreover, men changed sides in a most startling manner. There is little wonder that fear drove men into exaggeration. If the United Provinces had gained their independence, their position was still precarious. There were still towns in which the supporters of the old religion were in a majority. These might profess loyalty to the Government, but who could fully trust them ? The loss of their great leader might yet destroy the hopes of the Dutch Republic. After 1572 the wave of triumphant Protestantism began to recede. The Counter-Reformation had arrived. Such was the world in which the life-work of Arminius was accomplished.

[1] Sully said 70,000. Modern writers reduce his figures without much evidence. Lavisse, *Histoire Générale*, V, 145, says 10,000.

[2] Acton, *History of Freedom*, etc., p. 134; cf. *Cambridge Modern History*, III, 20.

CHAPTER II

ARMINIUS: EDUCATION AND PUBLIC MINISTRY

Arminius was born at the little town of Oudewater in South Holland, on October 10th, 1560.[1] Ten miles to the east is Utrecht, where he first went to school; sixteen miles to the west is Leiden, the scene of his undergraduate and professorial life and the place of his death; twenty miles to the north is Amsterdam, where his public ministry was exercised, and sixteen miles to the south is Dordrecht, where he and his followers were condemned. He was born, therefore, in the very heart of that territory where the brave Low-German stock fought and won the battle for the liberty of the Reformed Religion at the end of the sixteenth century. He was born, too, at the very beginning of the fiercest strife. The increase of the bishoprics, the retention of the Spanish soldiers, the fear of the Inquisition, were producing alarming signs of turmoil throughout the Spanish Netherlands. In three years' time the Council of Trent would be over, and the Counter-Reformation in full cry. The first generation of reformers was passing or had already passed. Luther had died more than fourteen years before, and Melanchthon was six months dead. Geneva was for the time being the capital of Protestantism, and Calvin was at the height of his power; in less than four years his career was prematurely closed. It was difficult for any earnest and thoughtful man in such a period to avoid the planetary influences of Mars, and Arminius was born to trouble.

His father was Hermand Jakobszoon, a cutler by trade, who died young, leaving a widow and three children.[2] The youngest child had the name of Jakob Hermandszoon,

[1] C. Brandt, *Vita*, p. 6.

[2] Bertius, *Fun. Orat.*, *Vita*, p. 9.

which becomes Jacobus Arminius when it is latinized. It was the boy's good fortune to be adopted by the parish priest, Theodorus Æmilius, a convert to Protestantism. From him he received not only his earliest love for the Reformed Faith, but those high principles which were afterwards expressed in his motto, *Bona Conscientia Paradisus.* For Æmilius "frequently exhorted him to despise and divest himself of all worldly views and to cleave to God and a good conscience."[1] It was this guardian who sent him to school at Utrecht.

When young Hermandszoon was seven years old, Alva became Governor of the Low Provinces and began to administer Philip II's policy of "Thorough." The thrill of anger and fear that passed through the country at the execution of Egmont and Horn would leave a definite impression on the mind of an intelligent boy. In 1569 Alva proceeded to impose his impossible taxes; 1 per cent. on all property, 5 per cent. on the transfer of real estate, 10 per cent. on the sale of merchandise or personal property. The last tax was to be paid on the same article every time it was sold.[2] It is difficult to see how a trading people could hope to exist under such burdens. It was in Utrecht that Alva found the soul of opposition. Utrecht was the oldest centre of Christianity in the Netherlands. Here among the heathen Frisians the first church had been erected in the seventh century. In the Middle Ages Utrecht had been the commercial capital of the northern Netherlands, and in its long conflicts with its bishops had won for itself its rights as a democracy. The city now refused the 5 per cent. and the 10 per cent., but offered 200,000 florins in commutation of its tax. Alva billeted his troops in every house in the city. The insolence of these unpaid and insubordinate ruffians was unable to conquer the city's resistance. Such were the schooldays of Arminius at Utrecht. Meanwhile, Oudewater had joined the national revolt, which was so rapidly spreading,

[1] *Vita*, p. 10.

[2] P. J. Blok, *History of Dutch People*, III, 51–2; Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*; Grotius, *Annales*, etc., p. 33.

and had gone over to the Prince of Orange.[1] Utrecht, however, forfeited all its privileges and the inhabitants were condemned for heresy and rebellion. Ten years later they had their revenge when, in their city, the Union of the Seven Provinces was proclaimed and the foundation of Dutch independence was laid.

Young Hermandszoon's schooldays came to an abrupt end in 1574 on the death of his guardian.[2] Once more fortune was kind to him. Snel van Roijen, a native of Oudewater, but now Professor of Mathematics at Marburg, happened at that time to be visiting his native place. The name of Snel is better known by the reputation of the son Willebrord than by that of the father, for Willebrord Snel became one of the greatest astronomers of his day. In 1575 when the young professor took his new student back with him to Marburg, his own son was not yet born ; he began now a life-long friendship with the clever schoolboy from Utrecht. Marburg University had been founded in 1527 by Philip of Hesse, and was therefore almost the first German university which was free from the power of Rome. In the Netherlands, Louvain was in the hands of the Spaniards ; Leiden was just about to celebrate her heroic defence by the establishment of a rival educational foundation in the north. For the time being, the intellectual centres of Protestantism were to be found either in Germany or at Geneva. Hermandszoon's days under Lutheran influences were, however, few in number. He was hardly settled at Marburg before he was called home by the news of a great disaster. The tide of war had swept over Oudewater and destroyed it.[3] Not only had the Spaniards besieged and taken the little town, they had massacred in cold blood most of its inhabitants. Alva had advised his successor to burn down every town he could not garrison with Spanish troops. This was faithfully carried out at Oudewater. The Protestant minister, John Gelesius,

[1] June 19th, 1569, G. Brandt, *History of Reformation*, Book IX, Eng. trans., I, 296.

[2] *Vita*, p. 11.

[3] *Vita*, p. 12.

was hanged, his son killed, and his wife wounded. The mother, sister and two brothers of young Hermandszoon had perished along with other relatives.[1] As he stood gazing at this latest example of Spanish "frightfulness," how could he prevent bitter thoughts from rising in his mind against a religious policy which had traced a path of blood and fire throughout the land? But if Malines, Zutphen, Haarlem and Antwerp were sacked as well as Oudewater, Leiden had won for herself unfading renown by her heroic and successful defence. It was on February 8th, 1575,[2] that the new University of Leiden, to which Hermandszoon was destined to be sent, was opened with much ceremony. Its charter had been granted a month before by William the Silent in the name of the King of Spain.

It was to Rotterdam, however, that the unfortunate youth went first, where he found a refuge in the house of Peter Bertius, pastor of the Reformed Church in that city. Here he formed a friendship with the son of his host which was to last until his death. Peter Bertius, junior, had just returned from England and was destined to travel far, not only round the universities of Europe, but along the road of religious thought. It is to his funeral oration over his friend that we owe much of our information about the career of Arminius. Together they were sent to Leiden, where Arminius soon won for himself distinction. In Theology and Philosophy they studied under Lambert Danaeus and from Hermann Reunecher Arminius acquired a knowledge of Hebrew.[3] In their later years at the University, Lipsius, the great authority on Tacitus, was Professor of History there. He had a great influence over Bertius; both of them at a later date returned to the fold of Rome. We do not hear, however, of any association between Lipsius and Arminius. These student years at Leiden were not free from controversy. In 1578 (April) D. V. Koornhert had challenged the prevailing predestinarian

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 314; Trigland, *Kerckelycke Geschiedenessen*, p. 282.

[2] Blok, II, 51.

[3] Bertius, *Fun. Orat.; Vita*, pp. 15, 16.

views and had denied that death was a suitable penalty for heresy. He declared with a catholicity little likely to find favour at that date: "I hold for brethren all those Godly men who hold Christ for their corner-stone, whether they be Priests, Monks, Baptists, Reformed or Lutherans."[1] He was forbidden to publish his views and declared to be a dangerous free-thinker by the orthodox ministers. The following year a quarrel broke out in Leiden over the rival authorities of magistrates and ministers within the Church. Jasper Koolhaes, one of the ministers of the city, supported the magistrates in their claim to approve or disapprove of Elders and Deacons after they had been nominated by the Consistory. This was vehemently opposed by all High Calvinists and had in itself all the promise of future division. Indeed there was schism for a time in the Leiden Church. As in later controversy, the more liberal theologians were in alliance with the civil powers, and Koolhaes was soon expressing views as tolerant as those of the heretic Koornhert. Lipsius at that time had but little sympathy with clericalism, for he declared to Koornhert that it was time to tame these seditious ministers "before they sit too fast in the saddle."[2] Echoes of this strife must have been heard within the University, but we have no indication that Arminius was influenced by it. A Synod held at Middelburg in May and June 1581 decided that magistrates should have no vote in the election of ministers, only a subsequent approbation. Elders and Deacons did not come within their province at all. At the same Synod the doctrines of Koolhaes were condemned, but he continued to be supported by the Leiden magistrates until he voluntarily retired from the ministry and turned to the more peaceful occupation of distilling.[3]

It was at that time the custom of some cities who had adopted the Reformed tenets to adopt promising divinity students and complete their education on condition that they pledged themselves to the service

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 337. [2] Ibid., I, 370.
[3] Ibid., I, 382; Trigland, pp. 173 ff.

of that municipality. Arminius was recommended by the Burgomaster of Amsterdam to the Merchant Guild of that city as a coming leader in the Reformed Church. A bond was signed between him and the heads of the Guild on September 13th, 1581, by which he engaged himself during the remainder of his life to be at the service of Amsterdam.[1] After taking orders he was to be free to serve in any other place only by the permission of the burgomasters of that city. At their expense he went now to Geneva, where Beza reigned as the successor of Calvin. That venerable Reformer was then lecturing on the Epistle to the Romans and became the model as well as the instructor of Arminius.

There were many Dutch students at Geneva at that time, and among them was John Wtenbogaert of Utrecht, with whom he formed a life-long friendship. The study of Logic proved to be more controversial than that of Theology at Geneva. There Aristotle reigned supreme with his syllogistic methods of argument, as he reigns to this day. His dominance had, however, been challenged by Pierre de la Ramée, who perished at Paris in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Logicians were divided into contending schools of Ramists and anti-Ramists. Young Arminius not only expounded the innovating principles of Ramus, but gave lessons in his own rooms on the subject.[2] This was forbidden when it came to the ears of the authorities, and Arminius went for a time to the University of Bâle. During the autumn recess there he gave some public lectures, as undergraduates frequently did during the harvest holidays. He was much approved there by the New Testament lecturer, J. J. Grynaeus, who not only gave him a high testimonial as a student, but would encourage Arminius to speak in the public discussions, saying, "Let my Dutchman answer for me." Bertius affirms that the Faculty of Theology at Bâle wished to confer on Arminius

[1] *Vita*, p. 19. Cf. Uytenbogaert's *Naeckt Verhael*, pp. 4–6; H. C. Rogge, *Johannes Wtenbogaert en zyn tyd*, pp. 24–32.

[2] Bertius, *Vita*, pp. 16, 21, 22. Cf. Meursius, *Athenæ Batavæ*, pp. 117 ff.

the degree of Doctor of Divinity, which he modestly declined. It was in 1583 that he returned to Geneva to pursue for three years more that careful study of the Scriptures which made him so complete an Apollos in his later years. His earlier zeal for the innovations of Peter Ramus was apparently forgiven, and the venerable Beza sent a letter of approbation concerning him to the ministers and magistrates of Amsterdam.[1]

The group of young Dutchmen of which Arminius was a member included several who were to achieve distinction in differing walks of life in the future: Nicholas Cromhout, Abraham Bysius, Peter Brederode, J. Crucius and Adrian Junius of Dort. It was with the last of these, a law-student, that he formed the closest friendship. Urged by the appeals of his friend and without consulting the wishes of his patrons in Holland, he went off with him on a tour to Italy at the close of their university career. They were away from Geneva seven months, staying longest at Padua and Rome. The philosophy of Zabarella was the attraction of the former city, and there Arminius resumed his lessons in logic, teaching a group of German noblemen. In later years it was asserted by his enemies that he kissed the Pope's toe in the eternal city, formed an acquaintance with Cardinal Bellarmine, came under the influence of the Jesuits and secretly renounced the reformed religion. This was, of course, mere vulgar calumny, but in those days of treachery and fear in the great contests of religions, it added much to the suspicion with which he was regarded by the Dutch Calvinists. The real picture was no doubt similar to the Italian travels of Milton a generation later. We must imagine two enthusiastic students eager to see and to know everything, studying day by day the Greek Testament and the Hebrew Psalter, which they carried in their pockets, walking together, eating together, sleeping together, full of suspicion for that Antichrist which they had learnt to distrust so much in their own country and at Geneva.[2]

[1] *Vita*, pp. 25, 26.

[2] Bertius, *Fun. Orat.*; *Vita*, p. 29; cf. Trigland, p. 282.

It was in the autumn of 1587 that Arminius was called back from the oversight of Beza to Amsterdam, and on November 12th made his appearance before the ministers and elders of that city.[1] His account of his sense of vocation for the ministry and his explanation of the Italian tour were well received, and he was given leave of absence to South Holland to visit his relatives and friends. Amsterdam was for the moment the political, as Geneva was the intellectual and spiritual, capital of Protestantism. It provided the ships and the sinews of war for the struggle against Spain. Its rapid development since the beginning of the revolt threatened the primacy of Antwerp as the port of the Low Countries. Its seamen were to be found in the East and West Indies, as far north as Spitzbergen and as far south as Australia. The greatest years of Dutch discovery were to come, after the defeat of the Great Armada and other successes had made the Spanish danger more remote. During the absence of Arminius from his country the great national leader had been assassinated. The very existence of the Free States as an independent Government had been threatened by the death of William the Silent. The revolted provinces, however, resolved on the very day of his death " to maintain the good cause, with God's help, to the uttermost without sparing gold or blood." Yet most of Brabant and Flanders, including the great city of Antwerp, fell into the hands of the Spanish forces under Alexander of Parma during the next year. In their need the Dutch turned first to France and then to England for support. The civil distractions of the former and the careful diplomacy of the latter were alike opposed to giving real help to the heroic Netherlanders, whose salvation depended on the strength of their own right hand. The disastrous expedition of the Earl of Leicester to Holland passed through the stages of enthusiastic welcome, national dissension and a tame withdrawal. It will live chiefly in English memory because of the death of Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, at Zutphen, and his chivalrous

[1] *Vita*, p. 33.

dying words, "Thy need is greater than mine." Leicester had supported the extreme Calvinist party against the more moderate religious leaders, and had provoked irritation between the inland States and the maritime provinces of Holland and Zeeland. When he left the country in August 1587 he left behind the seeds of future civil strife which influenced all political and religious happenings in the revolted States for the next generation. The most influential statesman in the land was now John of Oldenbarnevelt, since 1586 the Advocate of Holland, who inherited the tolerant principles of William of Orange. Maurice, the second son of the assassinated liberator of his people, was now twenty years of age, and was destined to prove himself one of the first military leaders of his time. Prince Maurice, as he was now called, had succeeded his father as Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland, and was soon to be Captain-General and Admiral of the Union. The clouds gathered darkly round the little republic, but the year of the Great Armada (1588) marked the beginning of the decline of the overwhelming power of Spain. It was in February of that year that Arminius began his ministry in Amsterdam. He had stated before the Presbytery his belief in the doctrines of the Church, had presented his testimonials and been unanimously received. His clear, persuasive and weighty preaching won the approval of all classes, and in July the Consistory agreed to his ordination, and the city magistrates ratified their decision. It was on August 11th, 1588, the day before Communion Sunday, that he was ordained by the imposition of the hands of the Presbyters.[1] Preaching in the Reformed Church was at that time solid and expository in character, and Arminius began at once the detailed exposition of the book of Malachi and the Epistle to the Romans.

His promising ministry had barely begun before he was drawn into the whirlpool of theological controversy, from which he never again succeeded in escaping. The Amsterdam Church called upon him to refute the

[1] *Vita*, p. 35.

liberalizing views of Koornhert, a layman who had been Secretary of State and was then at work on a Dutch version of the New Testament from the Latin text of Erasmus. Ten years before in a public debate Koornhert had attacked the accepted views of predestination and opposed the practice of capital punishment for religious opinions.[1] His opponents were two ministers of Delft, Arnold Cornelisz and Reinier Donteclock. His arguments must have made a deep impression, for the Delft ministers themselves published a pamphlet shortly afterwards against the supralapsarian views of Beza and Calvin. This pamphlet was now sent on to Arminius by Martin Lydius, professor of the new college of Franeker in Friesland. By a singular coincidence he thus found himself called upon to refute at one and the same time the sublapsarian views of Cornelisz and Donteclock, and also the greater heresies of their opponent, Koornhert.

It seemed fitting that Arminius should champion the tenets of Beza, his former honoured tutor at Geneva, and so he set himself diligently to work. This task, however, proved the turning-point in his intellectual life. His cautious and honest mind was first of all convinced that Delft was preferable to Geneva, and the expected reply never appeared. He did not linger there, however, but gradually was forced forward to a position on the subject of election which differed but little from that of Koornhert himself. This change of belief was not to be at once proclaimed upon the house-tops. The closest study of ecclesiastical literature followed until he discovered that the general support of antiquity was with him. A change became noticeable in his exposition of Romans, and the suspicion of the orthodox was aroused. The charge of deception and of temporizing with truth has been laid at his door by his opponents, and it is necessary to appreciate both his own temper and that of the Dutch Calvinists in

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 336. *Vita*, pp. 39, 40. Cf. Milton, *Areopagitica:* "The acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which he first took in hand to confute."

general before it can be met. His mind was of that careful and accurate order which refuses to pronounce judgment before the whole of the evidence is in court. "Theological truth," he once said in a letter to his fidus Achates, Wtenbogaert, "is sunk in a deep well, whence it cannot be drawn without great labour." [1] The prevailing temper was of a more dogmatic and enthusiastic kind. The great names of the early reformers were sufficient to silence any criticism of their views. For us sublapsarian and supralapsarian seem "in one red burial blent." Whether the decrees of election preceded or succeeded the Fall seems hardly a question of sufficient moment to threaten to split either Church or State. It was thought otherwise at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Arminius having come to the conclusion that election rose from the pity of the Almighty on His fallen children and was a decree of mercy effective to call His chosen ones from a ruined race, proceeded to advance one step further. He began not with the Fall, but with the absolute decree by which Jesus Christ, God's Son, was made the Saviour of all those who should repent and believe in Him. God indeed "knew from all eternity those individuals who would through His preventing grace believe, and, through His subsequent grace, persevere." [2] Yet was there no compulsion in His calling. It was not until 1590 that he reached these conclusions, which marked a complete break with the "horrible decrees" of Geneva.

On September 16th, 1590, at the Old Church, Amsterdam, Arminius was married to Elizabeth, daughter of L. J. Reael, a magistrate of the city and member of the Council.[3] Reael had been active in former years in introducing the reformed religion into North Holland, and for ten years was an exile at Emden while the Spanish party was supreme. Under this regime died Reael's brother-in-law, Egbert Meynertson, after having been submitted to the question on the rack at the hands

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 24, October 19th, 1597. For his change see Trigland, pp. 281 ff.

[2] *Works*, I, 589; Declaration 5, IV.

[3] *Vita*, p. 45.

of the Inquisition.[1] It could, therefore, be said that both Arminius and his wife belonged to the families of the martyrs and could hardly have prejudices in favour of Rome. Elizabeth Reael, who was a few years older than her husband, had shared the dangers and privations of exile, and was a woman of great courage and intelligence. The seven sons and two daughters of the marriage all survived their father, but achieved no great distinction.

In the next year, in the course of his exposition of Romans, Arminius reached the seventh chapter, which most Calvinists interpreted as the experience of Paul after conversion. Speaking on the words " I am carnal, sold under sin," Arminius declared that the Apostle was personifying one who could not yet be called regenerate, but was on the threshold of regeneration. This aroused the bitter opposition of Peter Plancius, one of the best-known ministers of Holland. Plancius was not only a divine, he was one of the chief promoters of Dutch commercial enterprises and voyages of discovery which were adding so greatly to the wealth and fame of the country.[2] He forgot his geographical studies for the time being in the vigour of his attack on Arminius. To allow to the unregenerate so much of godliness as appeared in Romans vii was to fall back into Pelagianism. Moreover, such an exposition was that of Socinus himself. These statements were discussed before the ministers of the town, and Arminius defended his position from reason and from authority: he quoted Erasmus and the majority of the fathers in his support. Plancius ridiculed the fathers and inquired what his attitude was to the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism*. Arminius declared that he had contravened neither, but that he was not bound to adopt all reformed interpretation of Scripture.[3] Being pressed on the subjects of human perfection in this life and predestination he denied that they arose. Rumour therefore was aroused

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 273.
[2] Cf. Motley, *United Netherlands*, ch. xxxvi.
[3] *Vita*, pp. 48–53; Trigland, p. 281.

against him not to be readily silenced. Martin Lydius called in Prince Maurice's chaplain to arbitrate in this dispute. This was John Wtenbogaert of the Hague, a friend of Arminius', and therefore not entirely acceptable to the other party. He came to Amsterdam and secured there the help of John Taffin, the Walloon minister. They persuaded Arminius to preach on the *Catechism*, and to be silent on disputed points until a General Council was called.[1] The Amsterdam Presbytery would not accept this. Plancius said that Wtenbogaert himself was unsound on the doctrine of original sin. This he afterwards retracted at a meeting of the Presbytery in January 1592. The next month new burgomasters were appointed. They called together all the ministers of religion in Amsterdam on February 11th to meet them and the outgoing burgomasters in order to find some way of religious peace. Arminius would have had the matter thrashed out in the presence of the burgomasters or their representatives, but the Rev. J. Kuchlin, with the authority of a ministry of thirteen years behind him, declared that the usage of the Church was that such examinations should be in the Presbytery alone. This difference as to the functions of the laity in theological and ecclesiastical disputes became later a line of cleavage between Calvinist and Arminian. It was Andrew Melville who put the Calvinistic theory into its classic form when he said to King James VI of Scotland, "Sir . . . there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James the head of this Commonwealth and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a head, but a member." The burgomasters asked them to keep silence in public on controversial matters and hoped that the disturbance might

[1] *Vita*, pp. 57–60; *Johannes Wtenbogaert*, Rogge, p. 66. Arminius, in a letter to Wtenbogaert dated February 10th, 1591, had said, "Si mutuum te lambere lubeat dicam et vere dicam me eas in te dotes animi agnoscere, quæ mihi tui indiviam parere possent, nisi didicissem nemini hominum sua dona invidere, præsertim non illi, quem tantopere, ut te, amo" (*Brieven Wtenbogaert*, Utrecht, 1868, I, 9).

abate. Crowds continued to gather to hear the discourses of Arminius, and every word was weighed to find a subject for condemnation. He was repeatedly attacked in the Presbytery, and asked for his opinion on all the articles of faith. At last in May 1593 he demanded that definite charges might be brought against him. He was told that he had made that difficult by his own ambiguous and equivocal expressions. At the next meeting he again asked for his accuser. Kuchlinus called out, "Where is Plancius now?" With some reluctance Plancius brought forward three charges of heresy: (1) Arminius had said that no one was ever condemned by the Almighty except for definite sin. In that case all infants were accepted by God. The reply was that "definite sin" included original sin. (2) He had declared that we cannot commend good works enough, provided we abstain from ascribing merit to them. Arminius admitted the truth of this statement, but declared that justification is still by faith and not by works. (3) He had stated that angels were not immortal. Arminius admitted having said that to Plancius in private, believing that immortality was a quality of God alone (1 Tim. vi, 16). These replies were regarded as satisfactory. Plancius and Arminius were reconciled, and there was peace in the Churches of Amsterdam.[1]

For the time being the logomachies of the theologians might cease, but the so-called religious war with Spain continued on the battle-field and in the sphere of diplomacy incessantly. The greatest general of the age, the Duke of Parma, had died at the end of 1592; but the young Stadholder of Holland had proved himself more than equal to any of his contemporaries. Indeed Viscount Turenne had declared in a letter to old Count John of Nassau, "I cannot tell you the joy I have had over the honour which your nephew Count Maurice has won in the capture of Zutphen and Deventer. In eight days he has wiped out the reputation which the Duke of Parma acquired in ten years, and made it clear

[1] *Vita*, p. 89; Trigland, p. 284.

that the courage and generosity of his house is immortal."[1] Two years later his cousin Louis, the Stadholder of Friesland, congratulated him on the success of his famous siege of Gertruidenberg as having restored the military art and science of classical times and gained a second Alesia.[2] These students of Julius Cæsar were ridiculed by the buccaneering captains of their day, but they renewed military engineering and even formed a school for the study of it at Leiden University. The diplomatic battle was even more difficult not merely with the matchless cunning of Philip of Spain, but with the possible allies of the Netherlands, France and England. Henry of Navarre had found it necessary to renounce his Huguenot principles if he were to secure the French crown in peace. He was the natural ally of the House of Nassau, but his sociable frankness was too clever even for the experienced ambassador of the Netherlands. It was not till his death in 1597 that Calvaert discovered how double-faced Henry IV had been.[3] Elizabeth saw clearly enough the value of the opposition of the States to Spain, but she considered their treatment of Leicester an outrage, disliked their Calvinism and republicanism and persistently drove hard bargains with them both in terms of money and men. France and England therefore gave but little direct support to the Netherlands in these difficult days, and the Protestant princes of Germany seemed sunk in an apathy soon to be terribly punished by the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. The letters of Count John of Nassau are a voice crying in the wilderness for the union of Protestants in self-defence against the dangers that threatened to engulf them.[4] How urgent therefore was the need for complete unity in the liberated States themselves. No one saw this more clearly than Barnevelt, and he laboured

[1] *Archives*, I, p. 169, dated June 17th, 1591, N.S.

[2] *Archives*, I, p. 245, June 19th, 1593.

[3] Cf. Motley, *United Provinces*, III, 458–62.

[4] *Archives*, I, passim, e.g. p. 272 : " Wir lassen uns aber leider mehrerteils bedünken es sei damit genug und ausgericht wenn wir den *catechismum* auswendig gelehrnet, oder auch von der religion ein etwas reden, u.s.w."

as a mediating influence in the cause of religious peace. His efforts were destined in the end to be the cause of greater discord. The cleavage in policy between the great statesman and Prince Maurice had not yet become apparent, though the son of William the Silent had little patience with the toleration of any other than the reformed religion. "It is clear," he said, that liberty of conscience in religion "would open a door to papists and all other heretics to have as much advantage as our own people, indeed more so, as they would be supported by the authority of the King."[1] To such a standard most of the Calvinist preachers would rally, and the treachery of party spirit made any other attitude very difficult. Barnevelt did not wish to introduce complete religious toleration, but he would gladly have held the more fanatical preachers in check by a measure of lay control. He called together in 1591 a committee of eight clerical and eight lay persons to draw up a form of church government. Of this committee Arminius, Wtenbogaert and Barnevelt himself were the chief members. They would have made the choice of ministers, elders and deacons a joint responsibility for the lay and clerical elements in the local churches, but their scheme met the fate of many compromises—it was attacked by extremists on both sides and never accepted. The committee, however, did bring together three men of strong character who remained through life of one mind on most subjects of ecclesiastical polity.[2] The labours of Arminius in another sphere at this time were more fruitful. In 1594 he was deputed by the Council of the town to reorganize the elementary schools of Amsterdam. This he did so efficiently that his system of spring and autumn examinations was still in existence when Brandt wrote his life in 1724: indeed the laws that Arminius had drawn up continued to be read annually until that date. However deaf Germany might be, the Netherlands had responded to the repeated

[1] *Archives*, I, 82, March 31st, 1588.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 438; *Brieven Wtenbogaert*, pp. 8, 9; Blok, III, 241; Wagenaar, VIII, 362, 363.

pleas for popular education of Count John of Nassau, who saw that the Jesuits must here be met upon their own ground. "They may jeer at this as monkery and under-estimate it as they like; there is in this work an inexpressible value. Such education produces soldiers and patriots with a true knowledge of God and a Christian conscience. Churches and schools, good libraries, books and printing-presses are worth more than all the armies, arsenals, armouries, supplies, alliances, and treaties . . . in the world."[1] All the strength of Presbyterianism and much else in Dutch and Scottish history lie in these strong words.

The mind of Arminius was ever occupied with the high themes of "fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute." He was not alone in his revolt against the prevailing doctrine. In Holland men like Koolhaes at Leiden, Duifhuis at Utrecht, Koornhert and his sympathizers had been bitterly attacked. Now it was the turn of Herman Herbertsz of Gouda and Cornelius Wiggertsz of Hoorn, of whom the latter was removed from the ministry in 1596, and maintained a separatist congregation for many years.[2] In Denmark the tradition of Melanchthon was preserved by one of his pupils, Nicolas Heming (1513–1600), Professor of Hebrew at Copenhagen, and afterwards Canon of Roschild. In England Peter Baro (1534–1599), a Frenchman, who had been admitted into the ministry by Calvin himself, was (by the patronage of Burghley) now Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. His opposition to eternal decrees of God concerning the destiny of men without regard to "Christ as the stone of probation by which the elect may be discerned from the reprobates" was regarded as a strange foreign innovation. His opposition to the *Lambeth Articles* led to his voluntary retirement at the end of 1596, his own words on the subject being "fugio ne fugarer." Throughout Protestantism at the end of

[1] *Archives*, I, 211; cf. Motley, *United Netherlands*, III, 119 n.; *Vita*, pp. 91, 92.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 13–15. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, I, 450–51; *Brieven Wten.*, pp. 30–32.

the sixteenth century revolt against Calvin was a dangerous thing. From Friesland in 1590 came a book from "an ancient, learned and godly minister," Gellius Snecanus by name, which maintained that the doctrine of conditional predestination was not a novelty and was consistent with the Scriptures. From Geneva Beza wrote to Wtenbogaert to say that Dr. Gellius should have consulted his brethren in the ministry before writing such a book. If he were to be answered in detail books enough to fill a house must be written.[1]

In 1596 the same "ancient minister" published an exposition of the ninth chapter of Romans, in which Arminius was delighted to find his own views set forth. He sent his own exposition to Friesland with a letter in which he stated that he had long felt that this was the passage of greatest difficulty for those who could not accept the decree of absolute election and reprobation. His discussion is too saturated with formal logic to suit modern taste, but is a powerful argument against the interpretation of Beza, with some incidental remarks on the preposterous injustice of a decree that compels man to sin (which in that case cannot be sin) and then punishes him for it.[2] These observations make it clear that Arminius had now broken with the Geneva tradition, though his paper is in the main severely expository, proving that the full doctrine of the decrees cannot be derived from St. Paul's argument in this chapter. He felt moved about this time to open his mind to some of his honoured senior colleagues in the ministry: his old patron Martin Lydius, the Walloon Minister of Amsterdam John Taffin, John Kuchlin the leading minister of the Dutch churches in the same city, and above all, Francis Junius, Professor of Theology at Leiden. A favourable opportunity occurred at the beginning of 1597 at the marriage of Kuchlin to the aunt of Arminius, which took place at Leiden, at which place Kuchlin had recently accepted a professorship. In spite of the festal nature of the gathering Arminius held Junius deep

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, p. 21.

[2] See *Works* of A. (ed. Nichols), III, 485.

in converse on the subject of Predestination, and fancied that he secured from the great Frenchman an admission that the divine decrees did not completely overrule man's choice and decision. "Hereupon I was as much overwhelmed with joy as if I had found a great treasure, for I esteem certainty in these matters which have now troubled me so sorely these last seven years . . . above the wealth of Crœsus, indeed beyond all the treasures in the world."[1] This led to a lengthy correspondence with Junius on the disputed points which was not so satisfactory as the private conversation had been. The correspondence was to have been secret, but copies of a letter of Junius were circulated by a theological student who was lodging in the Professor's house. One day Arminius was surprised to learn from Plancius in conversation that "the answers of Junius have closed your mouth." He never charged Junius with a breach of faith over this accident, but returned to the fray with renewed zest. Either because Junius was weary of the controversy, or because he was driven into a corner, he made no reply to those further arguments during the remaining years of his life, nor did he leave behind any unpublished papers of this controversya fter his death.

The whole conference was published in 1613 by the children of Arminius after both the combatants had passed away.[2] The national characteristics of two different peoples may be discerned in this interchange of view. Grace is lacking to the Dutchman, but his thoroughness, patience and obstinacy mark him out as a duellist who will in the end break through the alertest defences of his opponents. He begins by dividing the Predestinarians into three groups: (1) those who, with Calvin and Beza, hold that the decrees of God are concerned with mankind in the mass, not yet created individuals; (2) Aquinas and his followers, who hold that the divine decrees concern man as created; (3) Augustine and those who follow him consider that the divine decrees relate to fallen men. All, however, agree

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 19. Letter to Wtenbogaert, February 7th, 1597; *Vita*, pp. 97, 98.

[2] See *Works*, III, 1–248.

that God, by an eternal and immutable decree, determined to give eternal life to certain men, and the means necessary for obtaining that supernatural enjoyment, while others were passed by. This endowment Junius takes to be the result of adoption into the divine family, and wishes to restrict reprobation to mean the negative act of omitting sinners from the decrees of grace rather than any positive decree of condemnation. To this Arminius agrees, after pointing out that Calvin, Beza and Junius himself have all used this important word with a positive content. He wishes to begin with correct definitions, for "ambiguity has always been the mother of error, and should be driven far away from every serious dispute." [1]

The discussion that follows is concerned chiefly with the views of the second group as Arminius defined it. Junius endeavoured to modify the harsher views of Calvin and Beza by declaring that the divine decrees were concerned with the natural man created in the image of God before he fell into sin. Arminius seems to succeed in proving that God's election is one of grace made in the person of Christ the Mediator, and therefore is of necessity concerned with men as sinners.[2] Further than this he did not attempt to go, though we may well marvel that such a conclusion should be reached only after the elaborate investigation of 27 propositions in over 200 printed pages. The spirit of his contention is summed up in two sentences: "God can indeed do what He wills with His own; but He cannot will to do with His own what He cannot rightfully do, for His will is circumscribed within the bounds of justice." [3] He sent the whole correspondence to his friend Wtenbogaert in October 1597 in order that he might gain still further light on it, for he was not speaking to a brief but looking for the truth and ready to embrace it with both hands whenever it should appear.[4] He felt that the only way of arriving at truth was that of constant study and discussion by men of open minds and honest purposes. To clarify his own thought he drew up a

[1] *Works*, III, 41.
[2] Ibid., III, 94.
[3] Ibid., III, 44.
[4] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 24.

diagram of Predestination in tabular form, by which the possible states of man in grace and out of grace were set out as propositions with their logical contraries and contradictories. These mental exercises found a new application when he set himself in 1598 to refute the errors of a book by William Perkins of Cambridge on Predestination.[1] Perkins, who had been known as an undergraduate as drunken Perkins, was the subject of a sudden conversion and became one of the leaders of the Puritan section of the English Church in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth. His high Calvinism was opposed in the University by Peter Baro, but so popular were his views that one of his books passed through fifteen editions in twenty years. John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, had in 1592 republished the *Catechism* of Perkins at Leiden. Arminius proposed to begin a correspondence with Perkins as he had with Junius and laboured at his *Examination of Dr. Perkins's Pamphlet* for some considerable time. His plan was never carried out, for Perkins died in 1602, just as the work was completed, and the Examination itself was not published until after the death of the author. Fuller pays a quaint, indirect compliment to the character of Perkins by saying that "his widow married successively two other husbands, but no more Mr. Perkinses."[2]

The success of the writings of Perkins is apparently due to the fact that he had escaped from the methods of the scholastics and brought theological questions down to the practical language of every-day life. Arminius is not quite able to follow him, and indeed has to reprove him for his quite scandalous disregard of logical etiquette. "But, my dear Perkins," he says, "who compelled you to reduce that argument into such an unsyllogistic syllogism?"[3] Still, he is getting nearer to the heart of the ethical questions involved than in his previous discussion. The indignation with which he rejects the notion that Christ on the cross represented the elect only, the warmth with which he asserts that the "world" for which the Saviour died is the whole body of mankind,

[1] *Vita*, p. 109. [2] *Holy State*, p. 88. [3] *Works*, III, 438.

and his denial that the unregenerate man is "wholly flesh" mark the revolt of an enlightened conscience as well as a convinced reason against such narrowing down of the divine mercy. Even so severe a logician as Arminius will put the ethical argument above strict reason in the last resort: "It is preferable to deprive God of any act that belongs to Him, rather than to attribute to Him an evil act which does not belong to Him; because more grievous injustice is charged upon God if He is called the cause of sin, than if He is exhibited as an idle spectator of an act." [1] It must be said at once that Arminius never does exalt the human will to such an extent that God becomes a mere "idle spectator" of human actions. Men are ever the objects of *sufficient* grace; it is *efficacious* grace that is lacking when the sinner falls.[2] Some of his pleas are not so satisfactory. In particular we find it revolting that infants who die out of the grace of God do so because they have sinned against the grace of the Gospel through their parents. The belief in the original taint of human nature was too strong to make any other conclusion admissible. It was somewhat daring at such a time to support Roman theologians like Bellarmine and Contarini, and we can understand why charges of crypto-Romanism should have been brought against the Arminians at a later date.

About this time he was engaged in writing a book of Theological Commonplaces, probably along the lines and in the spirit of Melanchthon's famous production. This is no longer extant, but letters of this period refer both to this work and to the attempt made by Arminius and Wtenbogaert to persuade the States-General to essay the task of translating the Old Testament into the vernacular speech which St. Aldegonde had left unfinished.[3] This proposal comes at the end of a long letter on the Trinity, which is better suited to his commonplace book than to his correspondence with his Leiden friend. Philip Marnix, Lord St. Aldegonde (1538–98), had been one of the leading Reformers of

[1] *Works*, III, 419. [2] *Works*, III, 315, 316.
[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 4.

the Netherlands, having imbibed the pure milk of Geneva under Calvin and Beza. He had an adventurous career, but went into retirement after he was compelled to surrender Antwerp to the Spaniards in 1585. He was bitterly and unjustly assailed by his own countrymen for this disaster,[1] and left the political stage for good and all. As he was a writer of some distinction, he felt that he could best serve the cause of religion by making a Flemish translation of the Bible. For some time the liberated States had been unwilling even to permit him to return to his estate in Zeeland. Leiden, however, afforded him an asylum in 1594, and generously found him not only a house but an annual salary for his work of translating the Bible during the last four years of his life.[2] J. Drusius (van der Driesche, 1550–1616) was now a Professor of Hebrew at the little University of Franeker in Friesland, but had been Professor of Oriental Languages both at Oxford and Leiden. His name had been already suggested for the task of translating the Old Testament by St. Aldegonde himself when the work was begun. He was a friend of Arminius, and the latter urged Wtenbogaert in letter after letter to press his claims on the States. Wtenbogaert may be willing, and the lay element in the States' Councils may be willing, but the leaders of the Church are suspicious. The Synod of South Holland is very stringent in the conditions it lays down for Bible translators. Drusius is not regarded as a safe person. The States-General may buy his books which he has brought from England and employ him at a salary of 400 florins a year to write notes on the difficult passages of the Old Testament; but he remains at Franeker until his death, and the completion of the Dutch Bible is not undertaken until after the Synod of Dort.

The South Holland Synod is not only suspicious of Drusius, it remembers that Arminius is getting on but

[1] *Archives*, I, 79, 160; Motley, *United Netherlands*, I, 264–84; P. J. Blok, III, 205.

[2] *Brieven Wten.*, pp. 28, 29, where 1596 is a mistake for 1598. *Joh. Wten.*, I, 191.

slowly in the task of refuting the Anabaptists that had been allotted to him. He agrees to undertake the work, but tells Wtenbogaert that the real reason why this honour has been conferred on him is to force him into definite statements on the subject of Free Will and Predestination.[1] The Anabaptists were not only radicals in their views of church government, they challenged the accepted theology of the Calvinistic Churches. The time had not yet come for that fierce controversy which Arminius dreaded, but knew to be inevitable. He was far too cautious a man to stir up unnecessary strife. The whole life of man was scarcely sufficient to study such a question thoroughly, yet the country was full of bitter dogmatists who were thirsting for battle. His own passionate prayer was, "Give peace, O Lord, to Thy Israel; may there be peace within Thy walls and prosperity in Thy palaces."[2] At home the beginning of the year 1600 had been marked by sickness. Three of his children had been seriously ill with fever, and the maid had died of the visitation.

For Wtenbogaert himself it was a year of disturbance and adventure. He was with the army as Chaplain to Prince Maurice, was present at the great battle of Nieuwpoort (July 1st and 2nd), and has left us a letter full of the emotions of the hour written at Ostend on the day following.[3] He adds a postscript in French to this effect: "Gentlemen, I know not whether I am waking or dreaming when I think how God has as it were raised us from the dead in a moment." This great victory was no real gain to the States. Prince Maurice himself had not favoured the campaign from the beginning, and the fact that the chief advocate of this costly expedition was Oldenbarnevelt marks the beginning of a schism between the political and military leaders of the nation. The Prince was compelled to give up all thought of further aggression, and the check to his steady record of successful advance did not strengthen his position. A little later

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 52; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 5.
[2] Cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 50.
[3] *Brieven Wten.*, pp. 46–51; cf. *Archives*, II, 14–35.

the republican sentiments of Oldenbarnevelt led him to look coldly on the proposal to make Maurice the first sovereign of the new State. Later still Oldenbarnevelt began to work for peace with Spain. In spite of the distrust and opposition of Prince Maurice he succeeded in arranging a twelve-years' truce in April 1609, and the war which had made havoc of the Netherlands for forty years was at an end for the time being. Mutual suspicion and dislike, however, had grown up between the Prince and the Advocate ever since the campaign of Nieuwpoort, and strange to say, the future of Arminianism was involved in this severance. Arminius seemed at the moment to be more concerned with the question of an annual declaration of fidelity by the ministry than with the life-and-death struggle with the Spaniard on the dunes near Ostend. The Haarlem ministers wished to decree that all church officers should renew their subscription to the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism* every year.[1] This seemed like the renewal of the Inquisition to Arminius, with endless openings for theological wranglings and disputes. Fortunately the suggestion was carried no further.

Meanwhile the steady, faithful exposition of the Scripture which was the strength of Arminius continued. He became more and more a man of one book. His meditations and studies in sacred lore continued day and night. He could truly say without boasting that no hour was passed without such thought. Controversy he avoided, but he was acquiring a remarkable knowledge of the Biblical learning of his time which was soon to appear in lectures to students. The Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians he had expounded in detail, as well as portions of the Old Testament. All his theology was Biblical. He allowed no rival authority in the realm of faith. The views of the fathers and the decrees of Church Councils were important; the fundamental axioms and intuitions of the human mind were very potent; but at the best their authority was secondary, while that of

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 53.

the Scriptures was all in all.[1] He agreed with Perkins in at least one particular: "One evident and perspicuous sentence of Sacred Scriptures, concerning any point of doctrine and faith, is of more value and force than all the testimonials of the Doctors and Schoolmen." While he pursued his sacred vocation of the ministry of the Word with such sober earnestness, events like the arrival at Amsterdam of the ship of Barendsz, after its desperate "Furthest North" winter at Nova Zembla,[2] the threat of a Turkish invasion of Germany or the death of Philip II, the arch-tyrant of Spain, pass unnoticed. He was indeed a faithful preacher, and he was soon to show that he was no less loyal to the pastoral duties of his office.

At the beginning of 1602 the plague visited Amsterdam. By August Arminius reported in a letter to Wtenbogaert that the deaths had mounted up to 700 weekly. He himself remained at his post steadfast in prayer for the distressed city, comforting those who were in trouble, and urging on all a new seriousness of purpose and devotion to God.[3] Of the leading citizens only Taffinus, the aged minister of the Walloon congregation, had passed away. It was otherwise at Leiden, where two of the chief members of the University, Francis Junius and Luke Trelcatius, fell victims to the plague, the latter in August and the former in October 1602. This was an event that was to influence profoundly the future of Arminius; but for the time being he was sufficiently occupied with troubles nearer home. For a long time, he confesses in a letter to Wtenbogaert written on October 10th,[4] he had been anxious for his wife and children in case he should be removed, for they would be left but poorly provided for. His unpublished manuscripts, too, worried him. Should he burn them, or leave his executors to discover how poor they were, or possibly publish them? Of late the circumstances

[1] *Works*, III, 267, 273, passim.

[2] November 1st, 1597. See Motley's graphic account, *United Netherlands*, III, 559–76.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 55.

[4] Ibid., No. 56.

of the times had turned his mind to a deeper study of the Providence of God. With his usual thoroughness he had read what many theologians had written on the subject and had discovered much that was open to criticism. "Following my disposition, I gladly take up studies of this kind, for I am ever urged on to a deeper inquiry into the truth, and never leave off until I have completed the inquiry, or think that I have done so." The laborious student is, however, called to the bedside of the dying. He had recently visited two members of the Church unknown to one another, the one a man and the other a woman, who were troubled by the same sickness of the soul. They were deeply distressed because they had in that dark hour no assurance of forgiven sin and no witness of the comfortable favour of the Holy Spirit. Arminius asked them whether they believed in a Saviour who had made great promises of forgiveness to those who accepted Him, and when they readily declared that they did so believe he expounded to them the difference between Faith and Assurance, and showed them why God's comfort is not always found in an equal degree in believers. They were encouraged by his words, and were able to await the dread visitor with tranquil minds. One is reminded of the sad question of Cromwell which rose out of the depths of his troubled soul as he lay dying, and the Calvinist preacher's reply. The theology of the respective physicians of souls was different, but the cause for consolation was the same. They found courage to commend themselves to the mercy of God.

The rest of the letter is concerned with the suggestion that Arminius was a fit and proper person to fill the Professorship at Leiden which was now vacant by the death of Trelcatius. He does not deny that his studies have equipped him for some such position, but his attachment to his Church and his obligations to Amsterdam, together with the present sense of peace and security there, make it difficult for him to think of tearing up his roots and moving to Leiden, much as he would appreciate being nearer to Wtenbogaert and other friends

in the ministry. It was apparently the youthful Hugo de Groot (Grotius), soon to be one of Europe's leading publicists and scholars, who had written to Wtenbogaert, then with the States' Army in Brabant, urging him to sound Arminius on the subject. There were many at Leiden who felt that he was the man to succeed Trelcatius. Antony Thysius declared enthusiastically that Arminius was " Lumen Belgarum et ad scholas natum ! " [1] The curators of the University accepted this view. They knew no foreign theologian of adequate distinction who was not too old for the post, and in any case they preferred a fellow countryman.[2] Their negotiations were destined to be protracted because of the opposition of two important members of the staff of the University, namely Kuchlin, who was uncle to Arminius by marriage, and this year Moderator of the Theological Faculty, and Francis Gomar, who was destined to be the chief antagonist of Arminian views for many years to come. The latter knew but little of Arminius at this time, but he had received a distorted version of the conference between Arminius and Junius from Peter Plancius, and coming direct to Convocation from delivering a funeral oration over the grave of his distinguished French colleague, he felt that it would be an outrage if a man who differed from him so widely should be introduced to the University.[3]

Kuchlin, too, disliked the innovating ideas of Arminius, and was convinced that he would bring strife and bitterness into a peaceful fold. The Curators consulted Oldenbarnevelt and Wtenbogaert, men of distinction in secular and spiritual affairs respectively. The latter was unwilling that his friend should be brought into a situation in which so much prejudice awaited him. He knew that Arminius was well qualified for the task, but said that the decision must remain with the Curators themselves, and they must consider the general good of the Church and the University. To the High Advocate

[1] *Vita*, p. 132 ; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 25 ; Wtenbogaert's *Naeckt Verhael*, p. 39 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 197.

[2] Cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 58 ; *Joh. Wten.*, I, 205.

[3] *Vita*, p. 136 ; *Joh. Wten.*, I, 208.

of Holland he declared that he did not value Arminius nor a hundred Arminiuses so much as to wish to disturb the peace of the Church and the University for the sake of his promotion.[1] The same sentiments were expressed by Arminius himself when he was summoned to Haarlem for an interview. He decided that he was not a free man as his services were at the disposal of the magistrates of Amsterdam. They must be consulted first of all. Moreover, he could not think of becoming a colleague of Gomarus until he had removed his prejudices against him. "I will never," he said, "offer the slightest occasion for disturbing the peace of the Church for the sake of any dogma."[2] Arminius won the approval of these laymen, who remembered that there had not been absolute uniformity of belief in the University at the beginning. They sent two representatives to Amsterdam to secure from the magistrates the release of Arminius. The magistrates were not only unwilling to do this, but refused to allow the Leiden deputation to discuss the subject with the Amsterdam Presbytery.[3] The appointment of a mere Professor of Theology looms up in these old records with the significance of an important affair of State. It was, however, the Schools of Theology that made the ministry; it was the ministry that made the Church; it was the Church that was the soul of the body politic; and in the Calvinistic State the Church made as high claims as did the Popes of the medieval Empire. Indeed the Calvinistic theory of the spiritual prerogatives of the Church was so much the higher because the preachers had surrendered the temporal claims of the Popes.[4] Every attempt possible was made by the conservative school to prevent the appointment of Arminius. An irregular meeting of clergy was summoned at the Hague, at which Wtenbogaert defended his absent friend against several vague charges. It was

[1] *Vita*, p. 142; cf. *Naeckt Verhael*, p. 42; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 211.
[2] *Vita*, p. 145; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 212.
[3] November 19th, 1602.
[4] Cf. *English Historical Review*, Vol. IV, 1889, "Political Theory of Huguenots"; G. P. Gooch, *Democratic Ideas of the Seventeenth Century*.

at least inconsistent to object to Arminius on the ground of youth, seeing that he was forty-two years of age at that time, while the candidate for the other vacancy, Trelcatius the Younger, against whom there was no opposition, was but little more than thirty. There should be liberty of differences of opinion between colleagues in secondary matters, argued Wtenbogaert; even Junius had not been in perfect accord either with Sohn at Heidelberg or Gomarus at Leiden. He commended to them the words of St. Paul, "Love thinketh no evil," but did not prevent these Synod Deputies from warning the University against Arminius.[1] The chairman of the meeting, Arnold Cornelisz, an old minister of Delft, expressed his regret to Arminius shortly afterwards that they had not shown a more Christian spirit in this gathering. It was, however, one of his own colleagues at Amsterdam, Werner Helmichius by name, who discovered a new heresy from the recent expositions of Arminius on the Letters to the Churches of Asia. He had declared that "God had not yet sent to the Church of Rome a bill of divorce." Even Oldenbarnevelt stumbled at such a declaration. In the same book of Apocalypse was not the Church of Rome set forth as the great harlot, "in whom was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that have been slain on the earth"?[2] It was very difficult to believe that such an incarnation of the Spirit of Antichrist had been espoused as a pure virgin to the Lord. It was, however, discovered that Junius had used almost the same words as Arminius on this subject, and therefore this excessive charity to the Church of Rome was condoned. No minister of the Churches in the Netherlands was at that time more influential and respected than Wtenbogaert, and it was his influence that smoothed away the immediate obstacles to the appointment of Arminius. He had doubted the wisdom of it at first, but as the Curators of the University were so convinced

[1] *Vita*, pp. 150, 151; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 213, 214.

[2] Rev. xviii, 24; Wtenbogaert's *Naeckt Verhael*, p. 44; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 216.

in favour of Arminius he did all he could to establish his friend at Leiden in peace. He pleaded for a larger toleration in the discussion of the difficult subject of the divine decrees. He warned Helmichius against bringing back the Spanish tyranny into religious affairs. Helmichius retaliated by charging Wtenbogaert with setting the influence of Holland's chief statesman against the Church. This was too much for the patience of Wtenbogaert, who was well aware that this colleague of Arminius had used unworthy devices against him. "I am as free to speak well of a famous preacher," he said, "as others are to narrate all kinds of unproved evil about him behind his back." At this Helmichius was rather abashed and declared that he had nothing against Arminius, but was all for peace and quietness. Still, he was afraid that the politicians wished to suppress the views of Calvin. Men might be permitted to remain in the Church even if they did not accept Calvin's doctrines of the absolute decrees, but they must not be allowed to preach against them. Wtenbogaert saw clearly enough what the result of that attitude would be, but was not prepared to accept the position of Helmichius even at the price of the loss of unity and peace.[1]

Helmichius was followed by Gomarus, who came to convince Wtenbogaert of the nature of the offences of Arminius. He had been sorting out the papers of Junius, who was his brother-in-law, and had come across the replies of Arminius in the *friendly discussion* of a few years previously, which seemed to Gomarus an impious document. This was followed by the exposition of Romans vii, which was against the teaching of the Church. Wtenbogaert pressed Gomarus to show wherein these writings contravened any article of the *Confession*. "Church doctrine," replied Gomarus, "does not consist merely of accepted creeds, but also in the unanimous views of the preachers." "That sounds quite popish in my opinion. I really advise you to moderate these ardours." "I am no courtier like you." "To govern anger is the act of a divine rather than a

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 216–18.

curator." In these warm exchanges the court chaplain was at least equal to the professor, and in the end they parted on the best of terms. Gomarus was assured that Arminius was no firebrand; he would rather remain where he was than disturb the peace of the Church, and in any case he would frankly face all these questions before he became a colleague of Gomarus'.[1]

During these months of discussion and wirepulling the opposition to Arminius had been so persistent that he was more concerned to clear his good name than to become Professor at Leiden; at the same time it was clear that to remain at Amsterdam was to remain under the stigma of a suspicion of heresy. On March 3rd, 1603, he wrote to Wtenbogaert saying that he had been laid aside by a severe cold, but that he was most anxious to meet his opponents in the presence of Barnevelt to refute these slanders. Above all preferment, however, he values a "good conscience," and falls naturally into the words of the Vulgate as he expresses his confidence in the wise judgment of God. It is a letter of grace, full of affection for his friend, whom he terms "animæ dimidium meæ."[2] Another letter followed the next day, full of the desire to make his position clear in a competent and Christian assembly. Such judicial conferences on religious questions were hard to come by in the first half of the seventeenth century. Dogmatic zeal has rarely been more intense, and the moderate man was inevitably suspected of heresy or irreligion. In this strife between layman and cleric, an appeal was made at last to Prince Maurice himself.[3] It was apparently the influence of the Stadholder that decided the issue, for he sent Wtenbogaert to represent him along with the delegates of the University in the deputation to Amsterdam. A three-cornered contest on the subject of releasing Arminius from his ministry to go to Leiden continued

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 218–19; *Vita*, p. 163.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 59.
[3] *Vita*, p. 167; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 213; cf. P. J. Blok, *Hist. of the Dutch People*, III, 401.

throughout the month of April. The Amsterdam magistrates seemed very reluctant to lose an honoured minister, while the Presbytery was somewhat jealous, either of Arminius himself or of the purity of doctrine in the schools of the prophets. In the end they consented to release him, provided that his place was filled by Baselius from Bergen-op-Zoom, but he must not leave before the arrival of his successor, and on leaving Leiden he must return to Amsterdam. Also he must first satisfy Gomarus on certain points of doctrine in a conference at which deputies from the Churches should be present.[1] This was a curious and contradictory resolution, reflecting as it did both suspicion and appreciation of Arminius. In reality it was the result of a compromise between the party of Plancius and that of burgomasters like Hooft and van Waveren, who had a sincere regard for their famous preacher. Not only did the City Council refuse to allow Arminius to pay back the cost of his education; they made him a parting present and promised that, in case of his death, his widow should be on their list of pensioners just as if he had ended his ministry in the great merchant city.[2]

So far as the Leiden visitors were concerned, they disliked the idea of a Conference between differing theologians, and they specially objected to the presence of Synod deputies if it should take place. These were clerical encroachments on the province of the Curators of the University, of which they had already suffered more than enough. It was only when it was pointed out to them by the Amsterdam magistrates that the release of Arminius was only gained by this concession that they allowed the Conference to take place.[3] Barnevelt arranged that the meeting should be at the Hague on May 6th in the house of Van der Does in the presence of the Curators, two burgomasters of Leiden and the Advocate himself. Wtenbogaert and Hogerbeets supported Arminius, while the Churches of Holland were

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 222; Trigland, pp. 286, 287, 288.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 223. [3] Ibid., I, 223.

represented by Helmichius and Arnold Cornelisz.[1] Gomarus regretted that the Amsterdam Church had not accepted the invitation of the Curators and sent deputies. He would doubtless have welcomed the presence of Plancius, from whom he had received most of his information about Arminius. The latter soon made it clear that he held the views neither of Pelagius nor of Socinus, as Gomarus suspected; he was therefore invited to expound his beliefs in more detail. The laymen objected to this, and Arminius declared that it was his business to meet objections to his teaching, and he would endeavour to do this as they were raised. At a later date he was charged by his opponents with cloaking his Pelagianism at this Conference. In 1610 Gomarus said that he would never have made him a Doctor of Divinity had he then known his writings against Perkins. These observations are the fruit of later malice. Arminius was careful and sometimes timorous, but he was incapable of deliberate deception. Gomarus grudgingly conceded that the disputed interpretation of Romans vii was a possible one. Thereupon Arminius produced from his pocket the New Testament which he always carried with him and expounded the chapter so happily that he carried the day. He was equally successful in answering questions on other subjects, and in the end they all gave him the right hand of fellowship and went off together to dinner at the expense of the Curators at the inn of the Court. Thus in peace and harmony ended the contest over the successor to Francis Junius at Leiden University. Whether this harmony could be maintained must have been doubtful to all who understood the real situation.[2]

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 224; but cf. *Vita*, p. 181, and *Naeckt Verhael*, p. 47.

[2] Trigland, p. 289, quotes the Dutch proverb, "What is the good of the cow giving a lot of milk if she afterwards upsets it with her foot?" over this Conference.

CHAPTER III

ARMINIUS AT LEIDEN

The city of Leiden to which Arminius was shortly to remove was one of the pleasantest and, at the same time, one of the most prosperous cities in the Netherlands. It stands on the left bank of the Old Rhine within eight or nine miles of the sea in the midst of fruitful pasture land dotted with villages which are rich in gardens and orchards. Branches of the river and artificial canals shaded with trees form a network of watery streets. Business is not so brisk in Leiden to-day as it was in the seventeenth century, when the population is said to have reached 100,000, a number far in excess of the present figures. The fame of Leiden arose from the heroic resistance of the inhabitants to the Spaniards in 1574, when they succeeded in raising the siege in spite of famine and pestilence at the darkest moment of the fortunes of the people of Holland. The siege of Leiden marked the turning point in the great struggle of William the Silent, and it was to commemorate this great success that the University was founded.

It consisted of four schools: Theology, Arts, Law and Medicine, all of which were represented in allegory in the remarkable procession which marked the consecration of the University on February 5th, 1575.[1] At the rear of the military escort, and in the van of all the Allegories riding in a triumphal chariot with four attendants on foot was a woman dressed in purest white. This was the Holy Gospel attended by the Four Evangelists. At Leiden Theology was still the

[1] Meursius, *Athenæ Batavæ*, p. 29; Motley, *Rise of Dutch Republic*, IV, ch. ii; cf. Milton, *Defence of the People of England* (ch. iii): "That famous University" (Leiden) "and renowned commonwealth, which has been as it were a sanctuary of liberty."

Queen of the Sciences. To her halls were attracted some of the greatest scholars of Protestantism, and the beginnings of the new University were more brilliant than those of more ancient rivals such as Paris, Oxford or Bologna. When Lipsius departed from Leiden to turn back to the Roman Catholic Church and Louvain, the Curators of the University invited Scaliger to succeed him. For three years he temporized, but yielding to the pressure of the States-General and the Prince of Orange he came to Leiden in 1593 and remained there till his death in 1609. Scaliger has been called "the greatest scholar of modern times," "the most richly stored intellect which ever spent itself in acquiring knowledge." [1] He hated lecturing, but was permitted to evade that unpleasant duty if only he would be resident at Leiden as Professor of History. From that throne he ruled the learned world. Among his pupils were two who were to add lustre to the renown of Leiden scholarship, Daniel Heins and Hugo de Groot. The former was Professor of Latin when Arminius moved to Leiden and became one of the foremost classicists of his day, being succeeded by an equally learned son. The latter took his doctor's degree at the age of fifteen, and became the father of international law, and under the name of Grotius is famous as one of the chief statesmen of the seventeenth century, and one of the most precocious examples of genius of all time. He had just been appointed, at the age of twenty, historiographer of the United Provinces.

The names of other celebrities of the University of Leiden are recorded in the pages of Meursius, and their grim countenances appear there also to remind us of the portentous solemnity of the scholars of that time. They spoke Latin habitually and used it with ease and fluency. It was still the medium of the exchange of ideas in the world of letters as it had been in the previous century. "Nicholas Grouchy," says Montaigne, "who wrote a book *de Comitiis Romanorum*; William Guerente, who has written a commentary upon Aristotle; George Buchanan, that great Scottish poet; and Marc

[1] Pattison, *Essay on Joseph Scaliger*, concluding sentence.

Antony Muret, whom both France and Italy have acknowledged for the best orator of his time, my domestic tutors (at college) have all of them often told me that I had in my infancy that language so very fluent and ready that they were afraid to enter into discourse with me." [1] If we could imagine Montaigne living fifty years later and transferred from Bordeaux to Leiden his "domestic tutors" at the latter University would certainly not have been afraid to enter into discourse with him in Latin. It is possible that the memory of old Montaigne may have been overcome by his self-complacency when he drew this picture of George Buchanan afraid to talk Latin with a clever boy at school. Arminius was now entering one of the most learned coteries of scholars to be found at that time in any part of Europe, and he proved himself sufficient for such a test.

Political affairs were as critical as ever. The weary siege of Ostend by the Spaniards continued, and all the efforts at diversion by Prince Maurice were in vain. Elizabeth of England was dead, and had been succeeded by "the wisest fool in Christendom." James I was a Puritan in theology, but a Prelatist in church order, with a deep antagonism to Presbyterianism. The people of Holland knew nothing of this, and hoped for great things from the new ruler of Great Britain.[2] Elizabeth had never deviated from her antagonism to Spain, but her diplomacy had been too subtle to give the Hollanders any real confidence in her. They looked now for something like steadfast friendship and alliance with England, and sent to the court of James I an important embassy of whom Oldenbarnevelt was the chief member. That clever statesman was not long in discovering how cowardly and unreliable the new monarch was. There was indeed a danger of a marriage alliance between England and Spain. The plans of the King of France were obscure, and the Archduke Albert, the son-in-law of Philip II, was endeavouring to build

[1] Montaigne, *Essays*, I, ch. xxv.

[2] *Archives Orange-Nassau*, II, 198 et seq.

up a national government in the Netherlands. His aim was to win back by conciliation what had been lost by cruelty and oppression. In spite of the marvellous prosperity of the free States, their independent future was by no means assured. The only echoes of these events that are heard in theological circles at Leiden come to us in occasional letters of Arminius to Wtenbogaert, who was Army Chaplain with the Prince in the field.

Arminius was full of excitement at the prospect of his new work, anxious about his own capacity for it and urgent that his friend should give him help for his thesis and be present at his induction.[1] It was decided that he should be granted the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he was the first, according to Bertius, to receive that honour at Leiden. He was privately examined by Gomarus on June 19th in the presence of Grotius and Merula, a celebrated jurist and historian. All expressed their satisfaction. "His questions were concerning the substance of theology, and he conducted himself in such a manner as was fitting to him and as I could have wished."[2] On Tuesday, July 10th, the public disputation took place. The theme of Arminius was *The Nature of God*. His opponents were Bertius, Festus Hommius, Crucius and Grevinchovius, all of whom were men of note to whose objections he had to reply extemporaneously and in formal syllogisms. His mental alertness won the applause of a difficult audience, although it is clear that his belief in free will is everywhere safeguarded. "God is the cause of all these things [Lam. iii, 37, 38]," he says, "yet so that He acts through second causes, either with them or in them, He does not take away their own peculiar mode of acting with which they have been divinely endued; but He suffers them according to their own mode to produce their own effects, necessary things necessarily, contingent things contingently, free things freely."[3] The understanding

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, I, pp. 67, 68.
[2] *Vita*, pp. 189, 190; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 225.
[3] *Works*, III, p. 127.

of God, he says, in a good phrase, is not by succession but "through infinite intuition." The use of Scripture in this dispute is remarkably apt, and it is clear that only a strong and clear intellect which had subjected itself to a most rigorous discipline could pick its way with such care through so many metaphysical pitfalls. Lipsius had specialized in the study of Tacitus, and could repeat the whole of the works of that author. He offered to be tested in any part of the text, with a poniard held to his breast to be used against him if he should fail. Arminius studied the Scriptures with the same thoroughness, and was ready at all times to produce arguments based on the sacred writings for any position that he might hold.

On the following day the dignity of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him and he gave a public oration on *The Priesthood of Christ*. This would be described by English hearers of that date as a pious and painful discourse. It is more rhetorical in style, but a solid and sincere exposition of a safe subject. The gist of it was that after the close of the present age our great High Priest will cease from offering an expiatory sacrifice, but will for ever offer an eucharistic sacrifice on our behalf.[1] After his induction he returned thanks to Dr. Francis Gomar, to the Lord Rector and Senate of the University and to the students who were present. His words to the last-named are significant, for he entered on his task in the spirit of Socrates, who declared that he had done the best part of his duty if he had stirred up in his disciples the love of knowledge.[2] There were now 800 students at Leiden, not all of course in the School of Theology. Still, it was the ministry that was making the soul of the nation, and the opportunity of helping to shape that ministry was a responsibility which was never absent from the mind of Arminius.

It was now necessary to say good-bye to Amsterdam and the Church to which he had ministered for fifteen years. In spite of some differences of opinion he received

[1] *Works*, I, p. 364.

[2] Cf. his first oration, *Works*, I, 259.

the warmest testimonials from the Amsterdam Consistory and Classis. His colleagues in the ministry of that city declared that nothing was dearer to them than always to enjoy the benefit of his counsel, and by the Classis it was said that with great zeal he had propagated the true and Christian religion.[1] It was therefore with the best of auspices that he began his work at the close of the autumn vacation. He won golden opinions by his first public lectures and by his expositions of the book of Jonah; so much so that the old humanist Dousa (van der Does) broke out into Latin poetry in praise of the Senator Kromhout because he had been the means of bringing Arminius to Leiden. It seems to us an unlikely theme for the poet, but he succeeded in weaving some inharmonious Dutch names into his verse.

> Plus tamen, Arminium quod te duce et auspice primum
> Hollandæ urbs dederit Amsterodama Scholæ.

He even achieved the impossible by getting the name of Wtenbogaert into another poem on the same subject.[2] Certainly these first orations of Arminius were not lacking in the sense of the importance of his subject. He declared that all other sciences save theology had arisen from an inferior wisdom of God and had been revealed by a less degree of goodness and power. He admitted that certain duties were necessary to preserve the physical life, yet the labours and leisure of those who were engaged in such duties should yield precedence to the study of theology. This followed of necessity from his declaration that the aim of theology was the union of God and man to the salvation of the one and to the glory of the other.[3] These three discourses were on *The Object of Theology*, *The Author and the End of Theology* and *The Certainty of Sacred Theology*. An evangelical and practical temper pervades them all, and

[1] Bertius, *Oratio* and *Vita*, pp. 195, 196.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, p. 28; *Vita*, pp. 200, 201; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 63.

[3] *Works*, I, pp. 281, 294, 298, 300.

almost succeeds in giving life to discussions which seem dead to the twentieth century. It is difficult for the modern mind to appreciate the prolixity of post-Reformation theologians. We are not inclined to-day to accept the conclusions which Arminius drew from Prophecy and Miracles as to the inspiration of both Old and New Testaments. Yet we can admire the good taste and reverence which begins its discussion of Inspiration with the perfection of the Lord's Prayer and goes on to appeal to the compelling power of the best passages of the Scriptures themselves. "To the Scriptures themselves let him have recourse who may be desirous to prove with the greatest certainty its majesty from the kind of diction which it adopts; let him read the charming swan-like Song of Moses described in the concluding chapters of the Book of Deuteronomy; let him with his mental eyes diligently survey the beginning of Isaiah's prophecy; let him in a devout spirit consider the 104th Psalm. Then with these let him compare whatever choice specimens of poetry and eloquence the Greeks and the Romans can produce . . . from their archives, and he will be convinced by the most demonstrative evidence that the latter are productions of the human spirit, and that the former could proceed from no other than the Divine Spirit."[1] Arminius would have cordially agreed with Chillingworth that the Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants. He will have no ancillary authority either in tradition or in the Church. The latter may be the guardian of the Word, a witness to it, a herald and an interpreter, but she must make no higher claims. Galileo had not yet been condemned for his adhesion to the Copernican heresy which denied that our earth was the centre of a system round which the heavens revolved. Indeed it is possible that he had not yet made up his mind on the subject. Arminius, however, has no doubts. "It is necessary that the sun be borne along from the East to the West by the diurnal motion of the heavens,"[2] he says; but then his subject was not astronomy.

[1] *Works*, I, 323. [2] Ibid., I, 313.

At Middelburg, not many miles away, a fellow-countryman was working in obscurity, and was soon to produce the first telescope and begin a revolution in men's conception of the meaning of the mystery of their own life. The strength of the new professor lies in his consciousness that all God's saving mercy comes to us through Christ and that the young men of Holland are as surely called of God to be His prophets as was Amos when he declared, "The lion hath roared, who will not fear? The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophesy?"[1]

He soon had the opportunity of learning the qualities of the new generation of theological students by presiding over the disputations of two of them on the subjects of Justification and Original Sin. The theses were attacked and defended with such vigour that there was apparently little opportunity for the intervention of the President. Arminius was inclined to ponder over the dangers of scholastic discussions in the realm of the Queen of the Sciences. He was to discover more fully how real these were before his work at Leiden was over. He had not travelled far into the year 1604 before he aroused the resentment of Gomarus by infringing on his preserves. The senior divinity Professor apparently had the right to expound the New Testament and resented casual references to the New Testament passages in the lectures of Arminius. It is very difficult for us to see how it was possible to lecture on Christian Theology and confine one's exposition to the books of the Jewish dispensation; at least Arminius claimed that the Senate had given him full liberty to base his lectures on the Old or the New Testament, provided he did not cover the same ground as Gomarus.[2] It was, however, inevitable that friction should arise between them. There had been cases in which colleagues with differing theological views had lectured together in toleration of each other without strife, but in this case the issue was so direct, the temper of Gomarus so impulsive and that of Arminius so unyielding that only an occasion

[1] Amos ii, 8; cf. *Works*, I, 274, 308.

[2] *Vita*, p. 205.

was needed for the fray. It fell to the lot of Arminius on February 7th, 1604, to dispute on the subject of *Predestination*, which he defined not exactly after the manner of Geneva. God chose to bestow faith on believers, but unbelievers rejected faith by their own action, and these classes were in consequence the subjects of election and reprobation respectively. This was set forth with moderation and without challenging the authority of revered names.[1] On May 29th, however, in the presence of his colleagues Gomarus and Trelcatius, he discussed the *Sin of our First Parents*, and argued powerfully in favour of the contingency of it and against the idea of necessity. Murmurs broke out in the Assembly when he declared "There is no Absolute Necessity in the world save in God; nay even fire does not necessarily burn, but all the Necessity there is in things or happenings is no other than the relation of Cause and Effect."[2] There is no doubt that this aroused much perturbation in High-Calvinist circles. Not only his colleagues in the Theological School but prominent preachers like Festus Hommius of Leiden and Helmichius and Plancius of Amsterdam, and even professors of other universities like Sibrandus Lubbertus of Franeker were prepared to enter the lists against such heresy. Arminius on the other hand told his most intimate friend in his correspondence that he regarded the views of some of these men as contrary to common sense and the Word of God itself.[3] He was pressed for his attitude to the teaching of Socinus on the justice of God, but declared that he would be better able to give it when he had read the works of Socinus. He bitterly resented the attempts that were constantly made to prejudge questions by declaring that some particular view had been held by Pelagius or Paul of Samosata or Socinus. His enemies felt that if only he could be closely linked up with some avowed heretic, his condemnation was sure. He was able to turn the

[1] *Vita*, pp. 207, 208; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 31.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 71; *Vita*, p. 209.
[3] Ibid., No. 70.

tables on Gomarus when he appealed to the hated Papists and Lutherans to support him. "Wonderful is the vanity and inconstancy of the human mind, making use of all things at its own arbitrary will, now to this, now to the contrary end, just as it supposes it will conduce to the cause which it favours. Does it approve of anything as true? the authority of adversaries confessing the same thing, must serve in supporting it. . . . Does it condemn anything as false? it must serve as its refutation that heretics also say the very same thing: as if he who errs in one thing or certain things, could on no occasion utter the truth." [1]

He was at present unconscious of any animus of his colleagues against him. Trelcatius published a book which he considered rather jejune. His own sense of thoroughness would not yet allow him to write for publication. He had not got to the bottom of the well where truth was located. Some day he thought Trelcatius would discover how inadequate his body of doctrine really was. Another theologian whom he discounted at this time was Piscator. This cognomen conceals the name of John Fischer (1546–1615), a professor at the little University of Herborn in Nassau. His patron was the old Count John of Nassau, the brother of William the Silent and the soul of the Protestant opposition to Spain. At this time Hesse-Nassau was more truly the capital of Calvinism than Geneva, or Holland or Scotland. From the old Count's castle at Dillenburg went out numberless letters to inspirit his sons and nephews in their war with Spain, or to the princes of Germany to call them to some kind of unity against the reviving power of the Papacy. He alone saw with prophetic soul the disasters that lay before a divided and indifferent country. Half a dozen miles down the valley of the Dill from the Count lay Herborn, where the pure milk of the Calvinist gospel was dispensed. Alas! the Huguenots of France discovered some impurities in the supply. From their Synod of Gap, held in October 1603, they wrote a letter of protest to

[1] *Works*, III, 630.

Piscator that he who dwelt in a land of halcyon peace should disturb his co-religionists with new teaching.[1] He denied that the righteousness of Christ which was imputed to believers came from the Lord's active obedience, but declared that it was through His passive obedience alone. That is to say, he affirmed that forgiveness and justification were one and the same thing, and that as the former came through faith in the sufferings of Christ so it was by the sufferings of Christ alone that a believer was justified. Dr. Pieter Brederode, a Dutchman greatly in favour with the Count, joined in the fray in support of the French Calvinists; but according to Arminius hardly understood the points at issue. With many of Piscator's arguments Arminius was in full agreement, but he disliked his rhetorical appeals to the power of the blood of Christ. "You know that manner of speaking," he says to Wtenbogaert. "Away with such nursery rhymes (*nænias*) from serious discussion."[2] Brederode and Piscator between them seemed in danger of spoiling the parable of the Prodigal Son by regarding the putting off the rags of the wanderer as the equivalent of forgiveness and the new robe as the imputed righteousness of Christ. Arminius would put the Father's forgiveness first of all, and then make the change of dress represent a change of nature. That is the logical order, but the different actions of forgiveness, justification and adoption are but differing aspects of one operation of grace. Moreover, it is impossible to make a clear-cut division between the active and passive righteousness of Christ, because so much of His suffering was voluntary, and so much of His active life involved a cross. Arminius goes more deeply into the subject in his private letters than any of the gladiators of the arena do, yet we could wish that he had not made use of the Gospel's most perfect picture, the story of the Father who freely and completely forgives.

A sterner battle was being waged on the blood-stained

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 67; cf. *Heidelberg Catechism*, Questions 60 and 61.

[2] Ibid., No. 70.

fields of Flanders. In the month of September 1604, after a siege of more than three years, Ostend surrendered to the Spaniards, the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms. More than 100,000 men had laid down their lives in this terrible conflict. They left behind a scene of desolation comparable to those which were to be seen in the near neighbourhood three hundred years and more later.[1] This defeat was a moral victory for the States, and they were more than compensated by the capture of Sluys. In these scenes Wtenbogaert is to be found in these months present at the death and burial of Count Louis Gunther of Nassau,[2] a victim of fever at Sluys, rejoicing in the successes, sorrowing with the afflictions of the army, yet even carrying in his mind the care of all the Churches of Holland. Arminius tells him of sickness at home, then of his own physical infirmities, and at last without warning, as his biographer says, the storm burst.[3]

On October 31st Gomarus made an opportunity for himself to attack the tenets of Arminius by an agitated and aggressive exposition of the orthodox doctrine of Predestination. From the point of view of the earnest high Calvinist, it was the most natural thing in the world. Men like Plancius, Hommius and Gomarus felt that the foundations of their faith were being sapped by the subtle, persistent, careful arguments of Arminius. When they came to grips with him he was too clever for them and escaped. Yet they believed that the mind of the younger ministry was being corrupted. It was impossible to tolerate this silently. As they were musing the fire burned. Gomarus was prompted to act at once, and this disputation was made out of the usual rota. His expoistion made the decree of God's election, or reprobation, precede the creation of the individuals who were destined to life or death. Arminius was present, and was deeply distressed by this violent attack. He wrote to Wtenbogaert next day giving an account of what had

[1] See the account of Motley, *The United Netherlands*, IV, 214–17.
[2] *Archives, Orange-Nassau*, II, 319; Wagenaar, IX, 169.
[3] *Vita*, p. 212; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 254.

happened and declaring that he had given Gomarus no cause of offence. He was determined to continue his inquiry into the truth with as quiet a mind as he could maintain.[1] He made no public reply to Gomarus at the time, but made a full examination of the Theses which his colleague had put forward, which was never published until Stephen de Courcelles printed it in 1645. In this work he covers some of the ground that he had traversed with Junius some years before and keeps to the same scholastic methods. He is as remorselessly complete as ever, but writes with more pugnacity than is customary with him. He cannot believe that creation in a state of original righteousness was the way to election or reprobation. Augustine had taught that God had chosen some favoured individuals out of an original mass of corruption and left others to their fate. But Gomarus and his friends would make a new order in the decree of reprobation. "In the first moment or point of time, God willed to reprobate some rational creatures; that is, destined them to damnation. In the second moment, because they could not be damned while non-existent, He determined to create them in order that He might have creatures whom He could damn. In the third moment, because He must damn them justly it was necessary for them to sin and become wicked; but they could not sin unless they were created upright. He therefore determined to create them upright, to lay down a law for them, and ordained that they should sin and become wicked, in order that He might in this way attain the end of creation, that is, to carry out their reprobation in damning them for His glory. In this process, I say, they ascribe far baser things to God than if they should simply say He created some creatures in order to damn them."[2] This is plain speaking.

The argument that touched the Calvinist to the quick was that his theology made God the author of sin. Devoted preachers of the Gospel like the zealous leaders of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces knew that they had as profound a reverence for the

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 73. [2] *Works*, III, 608, 609.

honour of the Almighty as their opponents. The climax, therefore, of the disputation of Gomarus was the absurdity of this argument belched forth from the gates of Hell by such opponents as Castellio, Koornhert or the Lutherans. In reply Arminius does not hesitate to take up the gauntlet. "I freely and openly affirm that it seems to me to follow certainly from these Theses that God is the author of sin; nor this alone, but also that God really sins, nay, that God alone sins." [1] The battle was now fairly joined and was to continue in full fury for a generation in the United Provinces. Indeed 200 years later the dying echoes of the same controversy were very audible in England, and not till the middle of the nineteenth century could they be said to have died away. The news of the strife in the University was soon carried to the market-place and the workshop, and weavers and woolcombers engaged in these deep themes without being quite sure on which side was Arminius and on which was Gomarus.[2]

During the year 1605 Arminius held the office of Rector of the University and received the steady support of the Curators against any attempts to interfere with his work. It is more than likely that much of the suspicion which existed in the Church of Holland against this teacher of a new theology was aroused by the utterances of his students rather than by his own. They were now leaving the University and taking up their duties as preachers and pastors through the country, and in the enthusiasm of youth expressed their convictions without the guarded moderation of their professor. It was a charge of his enemies that he circulated his views in writing among his pupils privately, and in public derided the great names of the Reformed Churches.[3] It is difficult to believe the latter charge when we have before us his works and his private letters, but the former charge is probably correct. In doing this he was surely within his rights, and was doing no more than Junius had done before him. The younger Brandt has

[1] *Works*, III, 657. [2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, i, 254.
[3] Cf. *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

preserved an account of the examination in writing of John Narsius by the ministers of Amsterdam, which was held on January 13th of this year. Narsius was one of the most promising students in the lecture-room of Arminius. Like his master he was educated at the expense of the city of Amsterdam, and afterwards became pastor of the Church of Grave. He replied with the greatest restraint and caution to the questions put to him on the subject of Free Will and Original Sin, and yet he was never able to free himself from the suspicion that arose from his close association with Arminius.[1] It became the custom for Presbyteries to examine his pupils with great strictness before they were admitted to the office of the ministry, and the orthodoxy of Narsius was not always forthcoming.

On April 30th Gomarus conducted a disputation on the subject of Divine Providence. In accordance with custom the class endeavoured to raise possible objections. A. C. Vliet, one of Arminius' students, advanced some questions modestly enough, but succeeded in kindling a fire in the mind of the presiding lecturer which would gladly have burnt up both Vliet and Arminius together. The latter declared that he listened without feeling any concern, while Gomarus proceeded with the greatest vehemence.[2] Arminius was only anxious lest the career of Vliet should be adversely affected by this incident. He therefore gave him a special testimonial from himself, as Rector of the University, to the effect that he had given no person legitimate grounds for complaint. As for the subject under discussion he determined to take it up for public consideration at the first opportunity. On May 4th he made the Righteousness and Efficiency of the Providence of God concerning Evil his theme, and in the disputation was particularly careful to guard the free will of man and to avoid making God the author of sin.[3] If we read these disputations to-day we are impressed by the careful exegesis of Scripture passages in which

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 76; *Vita*, p. 238; J. H. Maronier, *Jac. Arminius*, p. 211.

[2] *Works*, II, pp. 163–89.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 77.

God seems to permit or achieve evil, and the balanced statement of the amount of liberty which is possible to men. The Divine Providence rules in all parts of creation, yet will not God, who is able to produce good out of evil, remove the faculty of choice from rational beings. There is, moreover, a determination of sin by the Almighty, which restrains it within certain limits.

> In vain may Satan rage his hour,
> Beyond his chain he cannot go.

He would have preferred to have consulted his friends Wtenbogaert and Adrian van den Borre (one of the Leiden ministers) before this disputation took place; but there was no opportunity. Borrius, as he is called, seems to have counted for much with Arminius in these days, if only as a counterpoise to his most persistent opponent, Festus Hommius, who was also a minister of the Church in Leiden. It was about this time that all four were present at a conference in which Arminius met all the objections of his adversary, who finally went away to inquire into the truth more fully. He never returned to continue the discussions, but claimed to have received at home such a revelation of God in answer to prayer that he was fully convinced that his own views were right. "Seekers after truth, forsooth!" says Arminius drily, "as if indeed God should give so rich a bestowal of His Holy Spirit in response to one prayer that an infallible judgment can be formed on these matters; He does indeed grant His Holy Spirit to His elect who intercede for that gift with His Majesty day and night."[1] Within the University he met with opposition from his wife's uncle, John Kuchlin, who was head of the Theological School. He arranged his lectures on the *Belgic Confession* at eight o'clock, at the same hour that Arminius was lecturing, and ordered all the students to be present. The natural thing was to appeal to the Curators, who restrained the impetuous action of Kuchlin.[2] It is interesting to notice that the

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 77.

[2] Ibid., No. 76; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 33; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 256.

City and University were so closely associated that Arminius made his complaint to the burgomasters, who postponed action until the Curators should meet on May 8th.

It was in this month that his ninth child was born, Daniel, the seventh son in succession. His father found in some obscure author a statement that such a prodigy had the gift of curing the King's evil by his touch. He feared that if such a gift were dependent on the father's faith it would never be exercised at all.[1] These glimpses of family life are all too rare; for judging by the dedicatory epistles written in the names of "the nine orphan children of Arminius" after his death, he must have been an affectionate father and husband, immersed though he was in his studies and the work of the University. About this time Wtenbogaert lost his wife, and the occasional domestic counsels concerning matters of feminine interest cease to appear in the correspondence.

After the dispute with Kuchlin had been settled a period of peace followed among the theologians of Leiden. Gomarus and Arminius seemed on good terms with each other, and inclined to forget past differences of opinion. All might have been well if the disturbing elements outside had been silent. Church Sessions, Presbyteries and Synods meet with great regularity in a well-ordered Presbyterianism. The health of the body politic must be constantly examined. In all parts of the United Provinces there was a dread of new theology. On June 30th, Arminius received a deputation of five serious men who wished to discuss with him the reports to his prejudice that were in circulation.[2] They were all ministers, three of them Deputies of the South Holland Synod, the other two of that of North Holland. They claimed to have heard novelties uttered by Leiden students in their several classes, and in the general

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 76.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 34; *Vita*, pp. 242–50; Declaration, *Works*, I, 524–27; *Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 257.

interest of the Church they wished to have the subject cleared up in the forthcoming meetings of the Synod. Arminius held that the better procedure would be to confront such students with their professor if any of them contravened either the accepted *Confession* or *Catechism* of their Church. He was willing to go to any town at his own expense in such a cause. This by no means satisfied them, but Arminius was unwilling to enter into a Conference with them in their official capacity as Deputies. He was under no charge of teaching anything contrary to the Scriptures or to the accepted symbols of their Church, nor was he conscious of ever having done so. Such an official Conference of which they were to be the judges who gave a report to their respective Synods would be most dangerous from his point of view. Moreover, he was under the jurisdiction of the University rather than under that of the South Holland Synod. The Curators would not give him permission to join in such an examination. If they would put aside their official capacity and discuss these topics privately he would willingly open his mind to them. He had made the same offer of a friendly conference to Festus Hommius and Helmichius without result, and the proposals pleased the Synod Deputies no better. They took their departure after promising to offer a similar conference to the two other professors, Gomarus and Trelcatius. It was disingenuous on the part of Arminius to make this last request, for he was well aware that the Provincial Synods had no quarrel with either of his colleagues.

This rather clumsy attempt was foiled, but it was to be followed by others. Meanwhile Arminius continued his public and private disputations, and on July 23rd came to the subject of the Free Will of Man and its Powers. He sent a copy of his theses to Borrius, making a characteristic declaration that he had been silent upon some truths which might have been published, "for I know that it is one thing to be silent respecting a truth and another to utter a falsehood; the latter is never permissible, while the former is sometimes, nay

very often expedient."[1] It was constantly urged by the opponents of Arminius, who found it a very difficult matter to prove that he had deviated in his teaching from the received symbols of the Dutch Church, that he was guilty of dishonesty in teaching publicly what he discounted in private. It is more probable that the real man is displayed in this admission to his intimate friend. Cautious by temperament, anxious for peace in a turbulent age, subtle in intellect, and well aware of the difficulty of the quest for truth, he preferred sometimes to be silent when he should have spoken out, and sincerely believed that it was his duty as a teacher to say nothing that contradicted the *Belgic Confession* or the *Heidelberg Catechism*.

In the disputation on Free Will, he ruled out the most important part of the subject, what he termed "Freedom from necessity, whether this proceeds from an external cause compelling or from a nature inwardly determining absolutely to one thing," and discussed freedom from sin and its dominion.[2] Plancius himself might have been satisfied with the terms in which Arminius described Man's loss of Free Will after the Fall. "In this state the Free Will of Man towards the True Good is not only wounded, maimed, infirm, bent and weakened; it is also imprisoned, destroyed and lost." Augustine is brought forward to confirm this contention. The will can only be made free to good by the Son through the Spirit. The gradual work of regeneration and illumination renews the will also that men may co-operate with the good purposes of God. Luther and Calvin might have said as much as this. Arminius felt that the excitable state of religious opinion demanded conciliation and peace. He wrote to his friend Borrius a day or two after this a letter[3] in which he said that his opponents stirred up strife with the object of making him appear to be the author of it. He was determined to disappoint them and to aim at peace

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 73; cf. Trigland, p. 297, for jesuitical conduct of Arminius; Maronier, *Jac. Arminius*, pp. 164, 165, for view of Trigland.

[2] *Works*, II, 189–96.

[3] See *Vita*, pp. 250–51, July 25th.

no less than truth. Until a National Synod could be called at which the disputed questions could be fully discussed and the *Catechism* and *Confession* revised if necessary, he would see that his teaching did not conflict with the formularies of the Dutch Church. The opposite party could not agree to any revision of either *Catechism* or *Confession*, and believed that Arminius was keeping his real creed and the arguments by which he sustained it in some secret recess to be suddenly produced in a National Synod, giving no fair opportunity for reply. Such a curious idea could only arise from a real dread both of the supposed cunning and the undoubted logical acumen of this dangerous professor.

On July 28th he received another deputation. This was from the Consistory of the Leiden Church of which he himself was a member. It consisted of two Elders, Phaedo Broekhoven, a burgomaster of the city, and Paul Merula, who was Professor of History in the University. They made the same plea for a conference to remove differences, but with a much more friendly intention. Arminius persuaded them that such a conference could serve no useful purpose at that time, and they admitted the force of his contentions and agreed to let the matter drop.[1] Other places were, however, not so easily entreated. The Dort Class drew up a resolution which was to be forwarded to the forthcoming meeting of the South Holland Synod to this effect: "Since there is a rumour of certain controversies having arisen in the Church and University of Leiden, concerning the doctrine of the Reformed Churches, this Class judged it necessary that the Synod should consider by what means these controversies might be most safely and speedily settled so that all the divisions and causes of offence which spring from them may be removed, and that the Union of the Reformed Churches may be preserved against the calumnies of adversaries."[2] This was a

[1] *Vita*, pp. 252, 253; Trigland, p. 298; Maronier, *Jac. Arminius*, p. 223; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 34.

[2] Bertius, *Fun. Orat.*; *Vita*, p. 254; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 259; Trigland, p. 301.

challenge which could not be ignored by the authorities of the university town. The Burgomasters and the Curators of the University inquired of the Professors of the Theological Faculty what were the real facts of the case. The Theology Professors had a private meeting and issued a joint reply to the effect that they could have wished that the Dort Class had acted better and in a more orderly way in this business. "We are of opinion that more things are in dispute among the students than we like, but so far as we, the Professors of the Theological Faculty, are concerned, there is no dissension which in any way affects the fundamentals of doctrine. We will also endeavour to diminish the number of disputes of that kind which have arisen among the students."[1] This was signed by Arminius, Rector of the University for the year, Gomarus and Trelcatius, and dated August 10th, 1605. The same day even Kuchlin added a note to the effect that he fully agreed with the statement made by the professors. This is a declaration of the greatest importance, and Arminius is quite justified in sheltering himself behind it. If the parties primarily concerned made a declaration that there was no dispute concerning the fundamentals of the faith, and this declaration was fully accepted by the university authorities, there was no ground for general discussion in the Provincial Synods. Men are, however, not ruled by logic, and the feeling of the Churches was too profoundly moved to rest content with this declaration. Party feeling, fanaticism and ignorance were vociferous, and the din was destined to increase rather than to diminish.

When the South Holland Synod met at Rotterdam at the end of the month the Dort resolution was of necessity brought forward. After a long discussion in which men of the type of Festus Hommius seem to have led the conversation, it was decided that deputies should be sent to inquire what these subjects were that were discussed so heatedly by the students of Leiden University. Also the deputies were to ask the University

[1] Bertius, *Fun. Orat.; Vita*, p. 256; Trigland, p. 305.

Curators to order the Theological Professors to give their own judgments on these questions openly and sincerely. The Synod also ordered that all pastors should renew their subscription to the *Catechism* and *Confession* of Faith.[1] Arminius saw that it would be a very difficult matter to carry out the first resolution, and rather smiled at the task imposed on the Synod Deputies in a letter he wrote to Wtenbogaert on October 27th.[2] They had first to obtain the consent of the Curators ; then the inquiry could not be conducted between the professors, as they had already met and given their judgment. It would be necessary to examine the students. The prospects of a successful issue from such an inquiry were remote in the extreme. Arminius was well aware that the university authorities would brook little interference in its internal affairs on the part of the ministers.

The Synod Deputies came to the November meeting of the Curators and the Leiden burgomasters. They were disturbed not only by the general unrest in the Churches of Holland, but by the fact that the news of their divisions had spread to their brethren in France and Geneva. The ranks of Tuscany were already gloating over their approaching downfall. The Jesuits of Cologne had rejoiced over the Leiden troubles and Philippus Nicolai had done the same in a recent book. Lansbergen of Delft was the chief speaker. They had been sent, he said, by the Synod to inquire into the differences between the professors about which there was discussion everywhere. In the vacations, students from Leiden boldly proclaimed all kinds of strange views which they said they had learned from their professors. The same occurred when they were examined before being appointed to pastorates. This was causing universal unrest, and they wanted some settlement. Thereupon he produced nine questions in Latin which they wanted the Curators to lay before the professors

[1] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort ; Vita*, pp. 258, 259 ; Trigland, pp. 312–14.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 80 ; Trigland, p. 299.

for an answer. The Curators produced, naturally enough, the signed declaration of Arminius, Gomarus and Trelcatius that there was no fundamental difference between them. They refused to pass on the nine questions to the professors, nor would they allow the Deputies to do that in person. They could not believe that Festus Hommius and his friends were likely to add to the peace of the commonwealth. The true solution of the difficulty, in their opinion, was a National Synod. A long dispute followed, of no very friendly nature. In the end there was nothing the deputation could do but to retire as gracefully as possible. Both parties seem to have had reason on their side, but it is clear to us that the fatal flaw lay in the Erastian view which put the Schools of the Church into the hands of a purely secular authority. The plea of the Calvinists that they should be able to guard the entrance to the ministry was a just one; the Curators also were justified in maintaining the Constitution of the University.[1]

The Synod Deputies came and departed so quietly that Arminius knew nothing of their mission for some little time. A copy of their nine Latin questions fell into his hands later, and he made full replies to them, which were published after his death. He was at work on these questions in the following month and met them not only by a direct reply but by a counter-question. There are advantages in such a method, as most theological and philosophical conundrums are based on ambiguities in phraseology. The fear of Pelagianism which the Calvinists exhibited, and the sane and moderate position of Arminius, are shown in the fourth question and counter-question. The Synod Deputies ask, "Are the works of the unregenerate, which proceed from the powers of nature, so pleasing to God as to induce Him on account of them to confer supernatural and saving grace on those who perform them?" The counter-question is, "Are a serious consciousness of sin, and an *initial* fear, so pleasing to God that by them He is

[1] *Vita*, p. 259, gives date November 2nd. Arminius, *Works*, I, 528, dates the interview November 9th, 1605; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 261–3.

induced to forgive sins and to create a *filial* fear ? " In a similar way questions on the possibility of perfection in this life and the final perseverance of believers were met.

In his letter of October 27th Arminius had expressed his sorrow at the internal dissensions of the Christians of Holland and their unwillingness to pursue the peace of the Church and purity of life as their chief aims. On that account he feared that God's anger was turned against them, and they would never see success in their long and deadly struggle with Spain.[1] Still, he could but go forward patiently with his own work. He warned his students not only to distinguish between truth and falsehood according to the Scriptures, but also between parts of greater and less authority in the Scriptures themselves. He could not tolerate crude and hasty judgments, and had sometimes to reprove some of his own partisans for over-statements of the case. He told Wtenbogaert of a disputation he had recently held on the comparison between the Law and the Gospel in which the respondent was a student named Peter Cunaeus, who later achieved some distinction in the University. Towards the end of the discussion a student made an objection that man must transgress God's Law because God had decreed that the Law should be transgressed. Arminius sternly repressed this argument as blasphemy and received the approbation of some of his opponents for doing so.[2]

His popularity and reputation steadily increased and provoked some jealousy among his colleagues. Gomarus said to him one day in no very friendly tone, " They say you are more learned than Junius." [3] That was characteristic of the impulsive nature of the man. It was men of less knowledge and deeper antagonism like Festus Hommius and Plancius who were the real opponents. They were both popular preachers and leaders of the Churches of Leiden and Amsterdam respectively, and their influence spread far and wide through the country.

[1] *Works*, II, 66–71 ; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 80.
[2] *Vita*, pp. 264–5 ; *Works*, II, pp. 203–10 ; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 80.
[3] *Vita*, p. 267.

At Amsterdam Plancius was beating the "pulpit drum ecclesiastic" against the new Pelagianism with such vehemence as to seem at times almost demented. Theological discussion within the walls of the University was in theory based upon reason, and even Gomarus and Kuchlinus could appreciate the force of the public arguments of Arminius, even if they suspected that he did not say all that was in his mind. When the debate was transferred to the pulpit and to the market square, no longer in Latin but the language of the people, prejudice and party spirit too often silenced the voice of reason, and the temperature steadily rose.

The University itself was not always the scene of academic calm, and its disturbances were not always due to the strife of tongues in high intellectual exercise. Its fame as a school of theology began to affect the pre-eminence of Geneva, and the excellent work in the other faculties attracted students from other lands. Quarrels between the different nations and strife between students and the civil and military authorities were not uncommon at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries in many universities. Leiden was not exempt from these uproars, and Arminius gives an account of such a disturbance in a letter written to Wtenbogaert on November 26th.[1] In the same letter he speaks of the consternation with which he and Borrius had heard a rumour of their friend's death. Wtenbogaert had been ill at Utrecht, but was now recovering. At the end of the year he was back at the Hague and Arminius and Borrius intended to go over to see him; but the latter was kept at home by a violent cold. Some council of war or peace seemed to be necessary on account of the growing excitement over the supposed betrayal of Reformation principles by Arminius and his friends. As they were unable to meet, Arminius summarized in his letter his replies to the nine questions set forward by Festus Hommius and the Deputies of the South Holland Synod.[2]

[1] *Brieven*, I, pp. 77–9; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 267.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 81.

A public disputation was, however, impossible, and the direct attack on Arminius seemed to have been a failure. Both parties now turned their minds to a National Synod as the authority to fashion the peace. Discussion turned from fundamental differences to the method of summoning the Synod and the subjects that should be referred to it for consideration. The year 1606 was in consequence a year of comparative calm, and Arminius continued his lectures on the Minor Prophets by saying farewell to Jonah and turning to Malachi. Side by side with his public disputations in theology, the elaborate and careful exposition of the Old Testament continued with the same faithfulness that he had displayed in his pulpit at Amsterdam. On February 8th his year of office as Rector of the University came to an end, and he delivered a timely oration that day on Religious Dissension.[1] He felt that discord was the gangrene at work on the vitals of Christendom, and in speaking on that subject he was but obeying the proverb which says that a man spontaneously moves his hand to the spot where the pain is felt. In vivid language he set out the persecutions by which a stronger religious party endeavoured to crush out a weaker one, or the equally terrible wars that arose when there was a greater equality between them. "What an Iliad of disasters is thus introduced into the Christian World!" Later in the year he dared to hope for an end of the long war with Spain,[2] though he never favoured the school which would pay any price for peace. In this oration he reaches out to complete religious toleration, and his appeal to civil force is restricted to silencing unreasonable and disorderly men who will not live in harmony with their fellows. His solution of religious disorder is for the Magistrates to summon a National Council in which laymen are to be present as well as ecclesiastics. The object of the Synod was to be peace rather than uniformity, and the subjects for discussion were to be religious and not political. Doctrine is to be followed by ecclesiastical

[1] *Vita*, p. 269; *Works*, I, 370–77; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 82.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 88.

polity. He would prefer that dignitaries of the State should preside over the meetings, but the real President should be the Word of God. This was set forth in the most ancient Councils of the Church " by the significant action of placing a copy of the Gospels in the first and most honourable seat in the assembly." Opposing parties should have equal time allotted to them, and should read their statements rather than indulge in extemporary effusions. These careful statements might be followed by free discussion in which members of the audience who were not actually delegates might take part. By such means it was possible that complete unity might be attained. In any case he concludes, quoting Tertullian, " Nothing is less a religious business than to employ coercion about religion."

In view of the Synod that was eventually held this is a pathetic plea for sweet reasonableness. We may be surprised at the Erastian nature of the proposals, but the Arminians were strongly of the opinion that the State was the guardian of religious peace, and in a religious State the Councils of the Church should be summoned and directed by the civil authorities. Had it been possible to summon the National Synod immediately, and to allow pacific lay forces to co-operate with moderating influences among the clergy, a way of peace might at that time have been discovered. The passing of years divided the schools of thought more deeply from each other, and also fixed divisions in the National Government which were but just beginning to be formed. In this year died Count John of Nassau, the veteran champion of Protestant unity on the Continent.[1] In this year the long war with Spain dribbled towards an unsatisfactory close. In the last campaigns Prince Maurice had not added to his renown as the greatest strategist of his times. He appeared to his critics to have missed opportunities of decisive action. Perhaps he would have complained of the insufficient support of his chief Councillor of State. Certain it is that Oldenbarnevelt was beginning to favour peace,[2]

[1] Cf. Motley, IV, 275. [2] *Archives d'Orange-Nassau*, II, 369.

and even to engage in discussions with France for something closer than an alliance without deigning to consult the Stadholder of Holland on the subject.[1] How much of this is sincere and how much of it belonged to the Macchiavellian diplomacy of the seventeenth century of which Barnevelt was past master it is impossible for us to say. Certainly there was a growing cleavage of spirit between Maurice and the great statesman. The Prince was by no means ambitious to assume the sovereignty of the Republic. Rather than accept it on the conditions on which it had been offered to his father, he said, he would fling himself down from the tower of the Hague head-foremost.[2] If Maurice was not anxious to take up political authority, Barnevelt was not anxious to lay it down. The soldier who was at his best on the battle-field and the statesman who had decided to make terms of peace drifted more and more into mutual suspicion and dislike.

On March 15th the States-General decided to call a National Synod. Such a step could not be taken unless there was unanimity.[3] For some years Utrecht had refused to consent, and was now persuaded largely by the arguments of Wtenbogaert. This was not the first time that that distinguished minister had intervened in the interests of peace in a province which had a distinctive religious temper of its own. In the letter which was sent from the States-General to the Provincial Synods it was declared that the *Catechism* and *Confession* of Faith which were received by the Churches of Holland should be revised and the Constitution of the Churches considered at the meeting of the assembly. As to the place, time and manner of holding the Synod, "the illustrious Lords and States-General had determined to call from each province certain learned and peaceful Theologians to consider the matter with them." [4]

[1] *Archives*, II, 370–78.

[2] Ibid., II, Introd., xlvii.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 38; *Vita*, p. 273 ff.; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 279.

[4] *Historical Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 280; Trigland, p. 351.

We may be sure that Barnevelt and young Grotius were not idle when such resolutions were framed by the States-General, and the potent influence of Wtengobaert lay behind their actions. The mere mention of revision of the symbols of the faith aroused excitement as though the Ark of the Covenant had been touched. It seemed as though doubt were thrown on the faith handed down from their fathers and consecrated by the blood of martyrs. It was necessary to declare that there was no such intention. The *Catechism* and the *Confession* were to be reread and considered as the basis of the doctrinal discussion that was to follow. There was no intention of introducing novelties into religion. On this assurance the North Holland Synod, which met at Haarlem at the beginning of June, agreed to the decision of the States-General, but wished the Committee which was to organize the Synod to be representative of the Churches rather than to be the nominees of the States-General.[1] They were also anxious that the same principle should rule in the composition of the Synod itself.

The South Holland Synod met at Gorcum in the month of August.[2] It was less inclined to accept the assurances of the States-General that there was no idea of introducing innovations in religion, and begged that the clause in the letters of citation to a National Synod which spoke of a revision of the *Catechism* and *Confession* might be softened or omitted altogether. It seemed to them a better mode of procedure to collect possible criticisms of their symbols of faith beforehand rather than to begin with the assumption of error in them. They would rather put the critics in the dock for cross-examination than submit the *Confession* and the *Catechism* to that indignity. They therefore requested all the pastors of the South Holland Churches to bring forward their criticisms in their own Classes, which could send them on to the Synod after examination. Special

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 38; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 284.

[2] Brandt, II, 39; *Vita*, p. 281; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; Trigland, p. 351.

deputies should be sent to the theologians of Leiden University to receive any observations they had to make for transmission to the Synod. Wtenbogaert was one of the four delegates who went on this errand at the beginning of December. They saw Gomarus first of all, who warmly approved the action of the Synod in the cause of purity of doctrine and peace.[1] He thought, however, that Arminius, who was Dean of the Faculty of Theology, should call his colleagues together so that they could consult together beforehand. Trelcatius agreed with this, but Arminius asked whether the deputies desired judgments from the Faculty of Theology as such or from the professors individually. The deputation considered that it was the latter for which the Synod was in quest. In that case Arminius considered that a meeting of the Faculty was unnecessary, and as for his own criticisms he was quite ready to produce them at the proper time and place, with detailed arguments to support them. He had long studied the *Catechism* and *Confession* to this end, and should continue to do so, but this was not the fitting time for this exposition ; that should be done in the National Synod. Trelcatius and Gomarus promised to obey the injunction of the Synod to examine the symbols of the faith with care, not because they had doubts on any Article of Belief, but that the wish of the Church might be followed. Bertius, who was regent of the College, also agreed to do this and the deputies departed.

The mention of Bertius introduces a new name on the staff of the University. This old schoolfellow of Arminius had taken the place of Kuchlin, who died in an attack of apoplexy on July 2nd, 1606.[2] By this change Arminius had lost a relative by marriage but found a friend. His aunt's husband had shown but little friendliness towards him, either in Amsterdam or Leiden. Meursius has preserved his appearance for us in his book on the Athenians of Leiden. There is little of Greek elegance to be found in the features of Kuch-

[1] *Vita*, p. 295 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 288.

[2] Meursius, *Athenæ Batavæ*, p. 182 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 288.

linus. The large head, with its square forehead and stockish eyes, suggests the obstinate partisan who can be roused to irascible action by trespassers through his preserve. Bertius is an alerter and more subtle character, a disciple of the great Lipsius, who also passed away this year at Louvain. He was destined at a later date to follow his master back into the bosom of the Roman Church, to find there no more satisfaction of his ambition than Lipsius had done. Both men found the bitter controversies of Dutch Calvinism to be little to their taste.

There are still extant letters written by Arminius during this year to his friend Wtenbogaert, to his favourite disciple Narsius, and to Matthisius, a Deventer pastor whose son, Sweer Matthysen (Assuerus Matthisius) was later to be a student at Leiden and then a Remonstrant leader. The subject-matter of these letters is as Biblical and theological as ever. We have discussions on aspects of the doctrines of predestination, attempts to expound the strange history of Nebuchadnezzar when he fell to the level of the beasts of the field, and interpretations of difficult New Testament passages. For the period, his study of Nebuchadnezzar is that of a rationalizing theologian. The King, says Arminius, became a beast by some mental hallucination only. This fit of insanity caused him to drop his clothes, let his nails and hair grow and mingle with the beasts until the kindly light of reason was restored to him.[1] To us this may not seem a very great adventure into the field of rationalizing interpretation, but it is further than most of his contemporaries would have travelled. Also it is important as representing a mental attitude which will never cease to endeavour to find a reasonable explanation of the apparent enigmas of life. Of domestic incident we gather but little from these letters. A visit to Amsterdam for a week in March to stay with his wife's people, the birth of a tenth child in December and five weeks of sickness in the middle of the year which rendered him incapable of continuing his work are all that is recorded.

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 86 and 87.

It was from one of his disputations this year that the charge of Socinianism arose which was to cause him so much trouble later on. The subject for discussion that afternoon was the Divinity of the Son of God. One of the students asserted that the Son of God was αὐτόθεος and that therefore He had His essence from Himself and not from the Father. Arminius pointed out that the epithet might either mean "one who is true God" or "one who is God of Himself," and that the former was applicable to the Son of God, while the latter could not be. The student, however, maintained his ground and declared that the essence of Deity was common to the three persons of the Trinity and could not strictly be communicated from one to another. He brought to his support a quotation from the *Commonplaces* of Trelcatius in which the term αὐτόθεος was used of the Son of God. This presented to Arminius a very awkward dilemma. He considered that his colleague's book was very crude and unsatisfactory in many particulars, and had said as much in private to Wtenbogaert. Even Gomarus had pointed out in the book some careless definitions to their author. Arminius could not, however, say this to his students. He merely stated that the Scriptures and the early Church, both Greek and Latin, taught that the Son had His Deity from the Father by eternal generation. Any other view would lead to the opposing heresies of Tritheism or Sabellianism. There can be no doubt that in this exposition Arminius spoke not only with his usual clarity, but in entire accordance with catholic teaching and tradition. The student could not accept this and sent reports of this disputation not only to Amsterdam but to Heidelberg.[1] Arminius never adopted an Arian or Socinian view of the Person of Christ. Indeed he gave a detailed and severe refutation of the treatise of Socinus *On the Saviour*.[2] An attitude of suspicion creates heresies, and the orthodoxy of Arminius on the subject of the Trinity

[1] Cf. *Works*, I, 627–31; II, 29–32, 690–93; *Vita*, pp. 285–94.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 198; Narsius to Sandius, September 12th, 1602.

became suspect while Trelcatius was suffered to pass by unquestioned. Arminius felt the injustice of this and said to Wtenbogaert: "You ask me to keep clear of novelties: Why, everything *they* do not teach is a novelty. I say nothing in my lectures against either *Catechism* or *Confession*, while Trelcatius has actually published a book containing some shocking opinions. However, I will act modestly and teach nothing that I do not deduce from the Scriptures, the Fathers and our Doctors."[1]

In this spirit Arminius kept constantly to his task. The quest of divine truth was the be-all and end-all of his existence. The range of interests of such a laborious student may seem limited, but the steadfast earnestness of purpose and the unswerving loyalty to duty that he displayed are in every way admirable. It was a year of comparative peace. It was the last year of peace that he was destined to enjoy. There were clouds on the horizon which were gathering up for a storm. His severe labours, also, unrelieved as they were by the exercise that comes in the way of duty to the diligent pastor or the army chaplain, began to tell upon his health. Controversy and sickness were to dog the remaining years of his life and to bring to a premature close a career that exhibited in a rare degree the highest loyalties, to his friends, to his country and to his God.

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 88.

CHAPTER IV

LAST YEARS OF ARMINIUS

The year 1607 was marked by increased zeal for the Reformed Faith among the opponents of Arminius, who began to consider that he was tampering with the very foundations of their system. Warnings were sent out to sister Churches in France and Scotland, in which more fervour than accuracy was displayed. There is little wonder that little unanimity was shown in a meeting that was held in May to prepare for the much-discussed National Synod. The most famous leader of French Protestantism in those days was Du-Plessis-Mornay, the Governor of Saumur. After the perversion of Henry of Navarre the friendship of the King for Mornay declined, but the latter made of Saumur not only a Protestant stronghold but the home of a theological college. To his death in 1623 he maintained a deep interest in all doctrinal questions, and was himself the author of important religious treatises. A letter of his dated January 1st, 1607, to Daniel Tilenus, the Professor of Theology at Sedan, declares that he has heard many people praise Arminius and expresses the wish that all Protestants could keep strictly to the use of scriptural phraseology and combine together against Romish idolatry, superstition and tyranny.[1] A sober theologian will treat the great mysteries of the faith circumspectly. Arminius himself would have been the first to agree to these conditions, and if the leaders of orthodoxy in the Dutch Reformed Church had been baptized into the spirit of Mornay the cleavage might never have occurred. It is, however, clear that echoes of the disputes in the Leiden Academy had been heard in the sister Churches, and the possibility of infection was already being dis-

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 97; *Vita*, pp. 299, 300.

cussed. The private and public disputations went steadily forward in the class-room of Arminius, and at his home, and the subject of his elaborate expositions seems at this time to have been the Gospel according to St. Matthew. In successive letters to Wtenbogaert we find him discussing problems suggested by that study, on February 3rd on Peter's confession in Matt. xvi, and on February 9th from the fig-tree of Matt. xxiv, 32 ff.[1] From the first letter we get some notion of the length of theological lectures in the seventeenth century. He reads till 9.30 a.m., meets his class at 10 a.m., and continues in exposition till 1.30 p.m.; the second session lasts from 4 to 7.30. There is little time left for correspondence.

A proposal was on foot to call Wtenbogaert back to Utrecht, which Arminius hoped would not succeed. He was not disappointed. Work and a severe cold prevented him from going over to the Hague to see Wtenbogaert. The reports of his cough became chronic from this time onwards. He seems to have had some foreboding that he was not destined to live long. In the spring he lost unexpectedly an old friend by the death of Halsbergius of Amsterdam. A letter written at the time expresses the idea that he may follow him after not many years.[2]

As to his scriptural interpretation, it is as elaborately careful as ever, in spite of his health. He compares passage with passage to learn the exact sense. "I do not toil in exploring dubious phrases, which are as likely to mean one thing as another, nor if they nearly carry one significance do I go out of my way to show how another meaning could serve the purpose." The contemporary expositor who never got to the bottom of his subject before he had reached his "fiftiethly" knew the art of creating difficulties in order to remove them. Arminius is content to show that Peter shared the common hope that Jesus was a temporal Messiah, and that the fulfilment of the Lord's eternal and kingly

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 98.

[2] *Vita*, p. 302; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 101.

priesthood did not occur until Pentecost. He was anointed during the days of His flesh to a prophetic office, and His kingly and priestly functions had been chiefly disclosed before the retirement to Cæsarea Philippi in sending out the Apostles on their mission. The treatment of the difficult subject of the Second Advent is equally sane. Arminius is a common-sense commentator of the school of Calvin, who will not go beyond the meaning of his text by one jot or tittle.

At the end of February the deputies of the Synods of North and South Holland asked the States-General to call a preparatory conference for the National Synod. This was agreed to and summoned for May 22nd.[1] The meeting-place was the Hague, and there duly arrived there the three professors and thirteen ministers who had been summoned to represent the different States of the Republic.[2] The professors were Arminius, Gomarus and Sibrandus Lubbertus of Franeker. Of the preachers the best known were Wtenbogaert, Helmichius of Amsterdam and Bogerman of Leeuwarden, who was to achieve notoriety later as president of the Synod of Dort. The full complement of seventeen was made up by the arrival of the Overyssel delegate on the 29th. He had little reason to hurry, as the arrival of Whitsuntide delayed the meetings for four days, and it was not until noon on the 26th that business really began. They were welcomed by Holland's greatest statesman, John of Oldenbarnevelt, who was strongly of the opinion that this was no time for theological hairsplitting. The country was exhausted by the long war, and was at that time specially feeling the financial strain. He was already beginning to consider the prospects of an honourable peace with Spain. Needless to say, nothing of this appeared in his opening speech to the ecclesiastics. He explained the reason for their meeting and asked that minority and majority reports should be presented in writing if there were any differ-

[1] *Vita*, p. 302; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 289; *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 40–41.

[2] *Vita*, p. 303; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 41; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, 289, 290; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

ences of opinion between them.[1] Eight questions were submitted to the deputies as to the composition of the National Synod, the time and place of meeting and the basis of their discussions. On several points there was general agreement. The Synod should be held as early in 1608 as possible, Utrecht was the most convenient centre and each Provincial Synod should send four ministers and two elders. The Professors of Theology should also be members of the gathering, and learned and devout laymen might be delegated even though they were not members. The States-General should be asked to send delegates to preside, and ministers should be allowed to attend as at other Synod gatherings. So far there was little divergence of view, but on the other questions there was a clear-cut division. The deputies from Friesland had been given secret instructions to oppose any revision of the *Catechism*, and Sibrandus Lubbertus had been deputed to take up a similar attitude to the objectionable clause in which this was named.[2] Indeed the extremists were prepared to refuse to attend if this was insisted on. Three questions aroused warm discussions, and Wtenbogaert and Arminius, with the two delegates from Utrecht, found themselves in a minority of four against a solid phalanx of thirteen. The subjects in dispute were the question of the revision of the symbols and the rights of minorities. On the latter subject Arminius argued that it was impossible to decide beliefs by proxy; therefore doctrinal subjects should be referred back to the whole ministry of the Church, and not decided by a little group of representatives.[3]

It is difficult to see how a plebiscite of the ministry could have given a more judicious and more peace-provoking answer to the difficult questions in controversy than the picked representatives of the Church were able to give. There seems to have been no precedent for such a suggestion, and there is little wonder that it was rejected. More consideration was given to

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, p. 291; Trigland, p. 356.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, p. 292; Trigland, p. 364.
[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 294.

a suggestion that when marked differences occurred the matter should be referred back to the Provincial Synods. A series of recesses with constant reference to the provincial courts would have been very difficult in practice, but the rights of the separate provinces were so strongly entrenched that it was impossible to refuse this suggestion in principle. In each case the Synod should determine the procedure.[1]

These were the somewhat futile attempts made by Arminius and his party to safeguard the rights of the minority. The real battle raged round the question of the revision of the *Catechism* and *Confession*. In the official account prefacing the *Acts of the Synod of Dort*, it is declared that the decision was that the Holy Scriptures alone should be the rule of judgment in doctrine and morals. This was universally accepted by Protestants, and was readily agreed to by Arminius and his friends; for that very reason it was discussed as though some slight were therefore suggested on the value of the *Heidelberg Catechism* and the *Belgic Confession*, which had been approved by so many honoured leaders and attested by the blood of so many thousands of martyrs.[2] The discussion moved on to the objectionable clause in the Summons of the States-General about the possible revision of the symbols of faith, and the two questions were discussed together. Gomarus declared that the Scriptures were the primary rule of faith, but that the belief formulæ were a secondary rule. Bogerman went so far as to say repeatedly that the Scriptures must be interpreted according to the *Catechism* and the *Confession*.[3] This was without question putting human documents above the Holy Scriptures, and thereby not only destroying the foundation principle of the Reformation but actually contradicting the 7th Article of the *Confession*.[4] As Arminius put it later to Wtenbo-

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 295; Trigland, pp. 362, 363.

[2] *Vita*, p. 311.

[3] Ibid., pp. 311, 312; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 294.

[4] Vinke, *Libri Symbolici*, etc., pp. 80, 81: "Men mach ooc gheniger menschen schriften, hoe heylich sy gheweest sijn, ghelijcken by de Godlicke Schrifturen."

gaert, "How could one state more clearly that they were determined to canonize these two human writings, and to set them up as the two idolatrous calves at Dan and Beersheba?" Arminius was pressed to expound his criticisms of the symbols or to explain his reasons for demanding a revision. He declined, as the meeting had not been called for that purpose. Criticisms should be forwarded by the Classes to the National Synod in the regular way. Meanwhile, he was content to accept the symbols not as a Rule of Faith but as agreed formulæ against which he would continue to teach nothing, as he had hitherto done. This reluctance to declare all his mind on the subject was afterwards brought forward as a proof of jesuitical policy, the more so as Wtenbogaert took a similar line of action at the South Holland Synod some months later. They were technically within their rights, and little good could have come of a premature contest on the main issue. Arminius did deny that the doctrines in dispute had ever been defended by the blood of martyrs, or were fundamental in the Reformation. Indeed if the attitude of his opponents were right the Reformation would itself have been an impossibility. In his tenacity for the authority of tradition the new presbyter was but the old priest writ large.

Just as the Conference was closing Arminius brought up a personal question.[1] Just before leaving Leiden for the Hague five Articles had been put into his hands which purported to represent his views on Predestination, the Fall of Adam, Free Will, Original Sin, and the Eternal Salvation of Infants. These had been circulated in Zeeland and the diocese of Utrecht, and had been read and discussed by ministers in their gatherings as though they were an official statement of the teachings of Arminius. As a matter of fact, he had not drawn them up at all, and did not agree with them, considering that in some respects they contravened the teaching of Scripture. He fancied that he could detect the real author of them from the style, and as he was a member of the preparatory convention, charged him with the

[1] *Vita*, pp. 316–21; Declaration in *Works*, I, 533–6.

composition of them in the presence of two other persons. He made no attempt at denial, but declared that they had been circulated not exactly as the Articles of Arminius but as those on which the students at Leiden had held disputations. The Articles Arminius produced, denying either that they were his or that they contained his sentiments. He was asked to state how much of them he approved and how much he disapproved. Then it was that he declared that the Conference had not been called for that purpose, and the States-General was waiting for their conclusions, which had already been signed. The majority and minority reports were presented on June 1st to the States-General and read but not discussed.[1] Many considered that the marked differences of opinion which had been revealed made the calling of a National Synod in the next year highly problematical.

We learn the kind of rumours which were then in circulation concerning Arminius from a letter which he wrote on May 3rd to his friend Sebastian Egberts, at that time burgomaster of Amsterdam[2]: "There is nothing, according to their own confession, which certain zealots leave unattempted here and elsewhere, both at home and abroad, in Germany and France, that they may move an insignificant creature like me from my chair and put me to silence. . . . The chief source of this inquiry is to be found in your city, where things are confidently said about me which no one here would dare to whisper, where I am daily teaching in public and private. . . . I teach publicly to a crowded audience; I hold frequent disputations in the presence of my colleagues; I meet objections faithfully, and make no use of subterfuge ('*tergiversatio*'). I have a private class of thirty or more students. Is it not therefore astonishing that none of them have produced a single syllable that I have uttered against the Scriptures, our *Confession* or the *Catechism*? As to what is circulated about my persuading my students to read the books of the Jesuits and of Koornhert, I can only call it a lie. . . .

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 295; *Vita*, p. 315.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 101.

But after the reading of the Scriptures, which I earnestly advocate and more than anyone else, as the whole University and the conscience of my colleagues will bear witness, I exhort them to read the Commentaries of Calvin, on whom I bestow greater praises than ever Helmichius did, as he confessed to me himself. For I say that he is incomparable as an interpreter of Scripture, and that his Commentaries ought to be held in greater repute than anything the whole Library of the Fathers has given us." Calvin's *Institutes* were to be read after the *Catechism*. Many witnesses would prove these statements, while none could prove that he set his students to read Koornhert or Loyola.

The most active defamers of Arminius seem to have been his old rival Plancius at Amsterdam, Festus Hommius of Leiden and Sibrandus Lubbertus of Franeker. It was the last-named who was most active in communications with the Reformed Churches abroad, especially in France and Scotland. A letter of his to Andrew Melville of St. Andrews had a curious history. Melville was the successor of Knox as the leader of Presbyterianism in Scotland. At an earlier date than this he had plucked his sovereign by the sleeve and called him "God's silly vassal."[1] It may be regarded as certain that King James VI never forgot these words, and after he had become James I of England he imprisoned the bold preacher in the Tower for four years, and then allowed him to go into exile to Sedan to teach theology there rather than back to his native Scotland. Melville was in the Tower when the letter of Lubbertus was forwarded to him in Scotland. It never came into the hands of the prisoner, but was intercepted by the Earl of Salisbury, who evidently felt that its contents concerned Church rather than State, and passed it on to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the latter gave it to Caron, the Dutch Ambassador, who naturally sent it back to Oldenbarnevelt, who gave it to his friend Wtenbogaert.[2] By this circuitous route the

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, I, 54.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 304; Trigland, p. 408.

news travelled to the Dutch heretics that they were being slandered behind their backs by their own brethren in the ministry to their fellow Protestants abroad. The letter's progress was evidently a slow one, for it was written on July 1st, 1607, and the indignant remonstrance and defence which Arminius and Wtenbogaert made to Melville when they learnt the news is dated: The Hague, April 13th, 1608.[1] Dr. Lubbertus told Melville that Arminius and Wtenbogaert wished to change the doctrines of the Church, and had secured the calling of a National Synod to revise the *Heidelberg Catechism* and the *Belgic Confession*. These symbols represented the teaching in which the Dutch people had been brought up, and in defence of which they and their fathers had been waging a bitter war with Spain for forty years. It was thought that all the main points of doctrine were brought in question: Original Sin, Free Will, Justification, Sanctification, Predestination, the Sacraments, Church Discipline, even the Person of Christ. Others thought that they wanted to rid the Church of the reason for catechizing altogether, and apparently set it free from all bondage to creeds. These questions affected all the Reformed Churches, and therefore Melville's judgment was required, together with that of other foreign Presbyterian leaders. A long account of the preparatory Synod follows, which differs in some respects from the account given above. The attempt of Arminius and Wtenbogaert to make the National Synod consist not only of the deputies but of the preachers who deputed them as representatives is made to look especially ridiculous. There was no precedent for such a Synod in the whole history of the Church; nor was there any precedent against receiving the decisions of a Synod as decisive for the whole Church. The rule of the majority had always prevailed. It was impossible to refer every disputed point back to Provincial Synods, especially if the brethren scattered throughout Europe were included; many generations would be needed to complete such a Synod. Such

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 104.

arguments reduced the disturbers of the Church's peace to an uneasy silence. On the other subject in dispute they argued that ministers should be released from their subscriptions to the symbols of faith, but until that were permitted they should make no pronouncements against them. Lubbertus and those who agreed with him opposed this. They did not take the *Catechism* and *Confession* as standards of divine truth, but as the bonds of their fellowship, which would be in danger of dissolution if they were impugned. Poland was a warning of what would follow, and the parallel between Arminius and Socinus is clearly marked out.

The correcting letter of Arminius and Wtenbogaert is long and impassioned. They felt that they were surrounded by vague charges and rumours which were destroying their good name, but that they could never meet them openly. Here was a concrete case in which one of their fellows in the ministry had circulated charges against them cast into the form of hearsay evidence —"It is reported," "Some think," "They appear," without giving chapter and verse for his accusations. They declared that the statement of Lubbertus contained as many mistakes or falsehoods as sentences. They had not secured the insertion of the clause about the revision of the symbols in the summons which the States-General had sent out with a view to a National Synod. They did not know a minister in the whole country who wished to call in question the great doctrines in which they had been brought up. When Lubbertus spoke of the forty years' war he might have considered their debt of obligation to the States-General, who had so bravely led the nation; these were the very people who had sent out the clause about the revision of the symbols. Was it at all likely that just as they were bringing the Ship of State safely into the harbour of peace they would deliberately run her ashore by dividing the country into warring factions in religious strife? The greatest calumny, however, was the suggestion that Arminius and Wtenbogaert, while refusing to give a

reason for the hope that was in them, were secretly at work endeavouring to set the Church free from any credal fetters of any kind. Their ministry was public, they were fully ready to set forth their views in detail at the proper time and place, and meanwhile they had never been charged with heresy in any of the regular courts of the Church. As to the account given of the preparatory Synod it was challenged at almost every turn. The clever arguments which proved the impossibility, wickedness and absurdity of their definition of a Synod had been thought out afterwards; they were certainly not uttered at the time. Consequently the embarrassed silence of Arminius and Wtenbogaert at these powerful contentions was pure fable. Then follows their account of the proceedings. They avoided the question of precedent by showing the difference between Synods at which Bishops spoke for the whole Church and Presbyterian Synods, where the teaching elders conferred not as rulers of their brethren but as spokesmen for them; on vital doctrinal issues the whole ministry should be consulted. As to the rule of faith they held simply, in accordance with the *Belgic Confession*, that it was the Word of God. Their opponents did not deny that the Scriptures were the standard by which differences of doctrinal belief should be tested. How could they? Yet they suspected us and spoke of the *Confession* and *Catechism* as secondary standards, and used other phrases about them which were better forgotten. Lubbertus omitted to say that for the sake of peace Arminius and Wtenbogaert agreed to the omission of the clause concerning the revision of the *Catechism* when next the summons to the National Synod should go out. The letter closes with a moving plea for fair play. If their opinions differed in some respects from the ministers of their Church there was no cleavage of soul; they were brethren, preachers and ministers of the same Gospel, whose last desire was to enter into strife and schism.

France, no less than Scotland, had received coloured accounts of the religious situation in Holland from the

pen of Lubbertus.[1] The news came back to the States-General in this case also through the Dutch Ambassador abroad, Francis van Aerssen, who will reappear in the narrative later as the enemy of Oldenbarnevelt, with whom he is now working in full accord. Young French Protestants were being warned against attending the University of Leiden, and the same charges were being circulated against Arminius and Wtenbogaert as in the letter to Andrew Melville. On November 9th, 1607, Wtenbogaert wrote for himself and his friend to Peter du Moulin, the minister of the Huguenot Church at Charenton, denying all the charges made against them.[2] It is a clever letter written in French, with the grace and persuasiveness of a man of the world, and more winning than the stiff Latin of the letter to Melville, although some of the same ground is covered. The writer declares that he would rather resign the ministry and be a private member in the House of God all his life than be the cause of division and strife in the Church.[3] He would like to know exactly what had been written to the French Churches, for this trick of scattering private views in the name of the Church savoured of the Papacy. D'Aerssens, who passed the letter on to du Moulin, was much impressed by it, and both agreed that it cleared up most of their doubts concerning the forthcoming Synod. D'Aerssens, as a mere politician, confessed that he was much in the dark about the whole subject, but was glad that so true a servant of the Republic as Wtenbogaert was clear, and also that the University of Leiden need not suffer from imaginary heresies of Arminius, whom he did not know, but understood was great both in knowledge and piety. Du Moulin felt that the question of Predestination, Irresistible Grace, and the Universality of the Atonement might be discussed between friends or in the schools, but that the people should not be imbued with such difficulties. One could ignore them and still be a good Christian.[4] In a postscript d'Aerssens hinted very

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 303.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 108.
[3] Ibid., No. 108.
[4] Ibid., No. 110.

broadly that the writers of the accusatory letters were Lubbertus and Trelcatius, the latter being a colleague of Arminius in Leiden University. In the same month (December 1607) du Plessis-Mornay is writing to d'Aerssens from Saumur again expressing the hope that there may be a truce in the theological strife at Leiden. The judgment of the moderate man is, however, of little avail once the crowd instinct has roused the feelings of the multitude to zealous partisanship on one side or the other. Arminius was able to continue calm and hopeful in the midst of the rising storm. He writes at length to Conrad Vorstius, one of the most learned and original of the younger Calvinist theologians, on the subject of contingency and necessity. He shows that certitude, being a mental state, can have no relation to fore-ordination. He objects again to the term αὐτόθεος as applied to Christ, not with a view to challenging the Deity of the Son of God, but to emphasize the fact of the Eternal Generation. Then follows a brief and clear account of the preparatory Conference for the National Synod: "No one stirs up any controversy against me, but various rumours are scattered about concerning me; indeed I am pressed down on all sides by suspicions and calumnies which, by God's help, I shall wipe away in His good time. Meanwhile I shall possess my soul in patience and silence until the searcher of hearts and defender of the oppressed shall bring forth my innocence into the light."[1] Rosaeus, a minister of the Hague, writing to Vorstius a month later, takes a more dismal view of the future. He can see nothing ahead but a new schism in the Church unless greater liberty of thought on questions that are not fundamental is to be allowed; the probability of such concessions seemed to be remote.[2]

The interest of this exchange of letters lies in the fact that the writers were to change sides in the controversy in a few years' time. Rosaeus was almost the first to create an actual schism in the Dutch

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 105; cf. *Brieven, Joh. Wten.*, I, 81–2, lxx; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 45.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 106.

Reformed Church, but it was in the interest of the orthodox party and against that freedom of thought in non-essentials for which he was pleading now. Vorstius, who was now a Professor of Theology at Steinfurt, must have been influenced by the weighty arguments of Arminius against a rigid Predestinarianism, for he became later a storm-centre as a new theologian, whose views were much more radical than Arminius himself could have countenanced. Vorstius is another example of the close international relations of the Reformed Church. He remained at the little University of Steinfurt under the protection of the Count of Bentheim, in spite of tempting invitations to Geneva, to Marburg and to Saumur. We need not blame Lubbertus and Trelcatius for their anxious letters to France and to Scotland, provided the true facts were laid before their fellow believers of other lands. Dr. Paraeus of Heidelberg was given similar information,[1] and even that "wisest fool in Christendom," the King of Great Britain, began to evince signs of interest in the dispute.[2] His present plans indeed were more statesmanlike than any that were forthcoming later, for he was in communication with the Elector Palatine with a view to calling a General Council of the Protestant Churches that the division between the Reformed and Lutherans might be healed.[3]

If such a way of peace could have been found it might have solved many difficult political problems which were to trouble the peace of Europe for another generation. It might even have increased the spirit of Christian charity, a plant of delicate growth in those dark days of the Wars of Religion. How little probability of success lay in such overtures we may gather from the Lutheran catechism of Polycarp, in which a declaration had been made that there were two Antichrists in the world, one in the East and one in the West; the former was Mahomet and the latter Calvin.[4] It is

[1] *Brieven, Joh. Wten.*, I, 87; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 204.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 105.
[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 46.
[4] *Archives d'Orange-Nassau*, 2nd Series, Vol. II, p. 224.

true that in a later edition the Pope replaced Calvin, but that merely expressed the truth that a good Lutheran would as soon associate with a Papist or a Mohammedan as with a Calvinist. The day of reconciliation had not yet dawned.

The Provincial Synods held this year showed little sign of peace. That of North Holland was held at Amsterdam in the month of June, and was so full of rumours antagonistic to Arminius and Wtenbogaert that they felt constrained to write to all the Classes of North Holland to explain the reasons for their minority report on the arrangements for the National Synod. The same gathering ordered that all ministers should diligently expound the *Catechism* every Sunday afternoon, and that new zeal should be shown in confuting the "Anabaptistical Vagabonds" out of the Word of God.[1] For some years Arminius had been under orders to write a treatise against the Anabaptists, and it was one of the reasons for suspicion against him that this task was steadily postponed. He was reminded of it by the Deputies of the South Holland Synod this year, but it was clear to him that he could not undertake to write an official refutation of the Baptist position from the standpoint of a Calvinist Presbyterian Church until some contentious matters had been removed by the National Synod. The South Holland Synod was held at Delft in August and was in a bellicose mood. One of the deputies denied that any Government could be truly Christian until all sectaries had been driven out of the land. Such a purging would apparently expel Roman Catholics and Lutherans as well as Anabaptists, and Wtenbogaert cried out in horror, "Who shall defend the land when despoiled of so great a number of the inhabitants? To you and such as you may be applied what Tacitus says, 'Vastitiem quum fecissent, pacem vocabunt.'"[2] It is to be hoped that the Court Chaplain

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 42; cf. *Vita*, p. 332; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 298.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 43. Brand attributes this remark to Henry Arnoldus, a minister of Delft; Rogge, in *Joh. Wten.*, I, 302, to van der Linden.

quoted his Tacitus more correctly; the actual words are: "ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."[1]

The Synod asked for the observations of the Classes on the *Confession* and the *Catechism*. It was answered that most of the ministers had no objections or criticism to urge. Wtenbogaert replied for some of the Classes that they were not yet ready with their reports. This created great dissatisfaction, and he was pressed by what he termed a kind of inquisition to declare his own objections. He replied under protest that he considered "the *Confession* and *Catechism* of our Churches, as to the Fundamentals of Doctrine, to be sound and good; and I am satisfied that they sufficiently comprehend the things that are necessary to salvation. I therefore approve them so far as they agree with the harmony of other Evangelical Churches." Other ministers said the same, but this was not considered satisfactory; the real question was whether the *Catechism* and *Confession* agreed with the Scriptures in every way possible. For this inquiry Wtenbogaert claimed that more time was needed.[2] He was not ready when his own Classis met in October, but still said that he would set forth his views at a more convenient time. He had previously annoyed the Synod by refusing to give an account of the preparatory convention, as he had attended it as a delegate of the States rather than of the Synod. Their jealousy of the interference of the States in purely ecclesiastical matters was expressed in a resolution to petition the States of Holland that an Assembly which represented North and South Holland should meet to settle the peace of the Church until the National Synod should meet.[3] The friends of Arminius feared that this was an attempt to avoid the revision of the Symbols which the States had decreed, and to escape from the authority of the States altogether. The Petition

[1] *Agricola*, c. 30.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 43; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 299–301; *Vita*, pp. 325–28.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 43–4; *Vita*, 328–30; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 312.

was not acceded to on the ground of the pressure of public affairs.[1] It became clear that the suspicions against the minority party were steadily growing, and in self-defence they published a justification of the points in which they differed from the thirteen concerning the National Synod and presented this to Oldenbarnevelt. They declared that their aim was unity in their own Church and with other Churches. There had always been differences of opinion in the Church, and Synods had been held for that reason. Nevertheless all the reformed doctors had taught that Councils and Confessions could err, for God's Word alone is infallible. It was no uncharted freedom they looked for, but unity in service. Romanists, Lutherans, Anabaptists would not listen to their preaching, and the Jesuits were creeping through the land. Let there be an end to disputes in Church and School over secondary matters.[2] Barnevelt told them that the States were too busy to receive their declaration, and it would be better to hear what the other side had to say. Seven of the thirteen met at Amsterdam in October to draw up their apology. Lubbertus was not present, but sent a flattering letter to Barnevelt. The States-General received the views of both parties on December 5th.[3] The National Synod was again postponed and Arminius and Wtenbogaert were blamed for the delay. As a matter of fact it was the urgency of the negotiations for a truce with Spain which occupied the whole attention of the Dutch politicians. They were a divided house on this subject. Barnevelt and the merchant class were in favour of peace after the exhaustion of forty years' war; the soldiers and the extreme Calvinists were for unending war with Spain. This was the beginning both of the cleavage between Prince Maurice and Barnevelt and of the latter's unpopularity.[4] It was

[1] September 14th, 1607.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, pp. 306, 307.
[3] Ibid., I, 309; Trigland, p. 364.
[4] Grotius, *de Rebus Belgicis*, pp. 509, 548; *Archives d'Orange-Nassau*, 2nd series, II, 380; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 54.

even said that Barnevelt was an enemy of the Church. He was certainly no lover of fanaticism, and Wtenbogaert admitted that he had heard him say that the extreme Protestants of Flanders had done a great deal to lose that rich province to Spain.[1]

Fuel was added to the flames of theological controversy at this time by the publication at Gouda of a little tract entitled, *A Short Instruction for Children in the Christian Religion.* This consisted merely of Articles of Faith very simply expressed, and so far as possible entirely in terms of Scripture. It is generally known as the *Gouda Catechism*, and was the work of the pastors of that Church. It was hoped that this might replace the *Heidelberg Catechism* in the schools as it was simpler, avoiding difficult dogmas but following the general plan of that famous work. The High Calvinists opposed it bitterly because any monstrous opinion might be veiled under language so general. Such simplicity might have its uses in primitive times, but with the increase of error more careful creeds were needed to expose heresy.[2] In a refutation of the *Gouda Catechism* by Reinier Donteclock it was hinted that Arminius was the real author of this dangerous work.[3] It is true that he had been consulted about the publication, and had cordially approved of the idea, but he had given no help at all in the actual composition. Many believed that he and Wtenbogaert were really in the pay of the Pope. A real parallel for these wild rumours is found in the common belief that John Wesley was the agent either of the Pope or the Young Pretender in the early years of his itinerant ministry.[4]

The year 1608 was full of attempts on the part of Arminius and his friends to answer the calumnies that were whispered against them. The relations between

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 311–12.

[2] *Vita*, pp. 332–34; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 44; Grotius *de Rebus Belgicis*, p. 553.

[3] Donteclock, *Examen Catech. Goud.*, pp. 3, 8–10.

[4] *Vita*, pp. 335–26; *Brieven Wten.*, I, 85, 86; cf. Wesley's *Journal* (Standard edition), II, 262, 342; III, 46, 110, 129, 132, 191, 224; IV, 14, 15; V, 295; VIII, 305.

the Palatinate and the Dutch Provinces were especially close as the Elector Palatine was a brother-in-law of Prince Maurice, and both countries were strongholds of the Reformed Faith. The University of Heidelberg added a new lustre to the Palatinate, and its school of theology, under the presidency of David Paraeus (1548–1622), was the true daughter of Geneva and sister to Leiden, Sedan and Saumur. Paraeus sent to the Palatinate Ambassador at the Hague, Hippolytus a Collibus, to inform him of the sad state of the Dutch Church as reported by Lubbertus and to get further information from him. His Excellency the Ambassador did the honourable thing. He sent for Arminius and told him exactly what was being said to his detriment and asked him for the real truth. He was so satisfied with the reply of Arminius that he asked him to put it into writing. This was done in the form of a letter " to his Excellency, the noble lord, Hippolytus a Collibus, Ambassador from the most illustrious Prince, the Elector Palatine," dated April 5th, 1608.[1] He says that Wtenbogaert, who lived near the Ambassador, would give him a full account of what took place at the Convention preparatory to the National Synod. He confines his attention to his views on the Divinity of the Son of God, Providence, Predestination, Grace and Free Will, and Justification. He is mercifully brief and clear. The only point on which he expands is his defence of his refusal of the term αὐτόθεος as applied to Christ. He sufficiently clears himself of any charge of Socinianism by showing his agreement in this view with Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Augustine and the most orthodox fathers of the Church. He is merely contending for the fact that the Son is the second person of the Trinity because of the Eternal Generation. Some later defenders of Free Will would find his support a little tepid: " That teacher," he says, " obtains my highest approbation who ascribes as much as possible to Divine Grace; provided he so pleads the cause of Grace, as not to inflict an injury

[1] *Works*, II, 685–705; *Vita*, p. 341; Trigland, pp. 310, 311.

on the Justice of God, and not to take away the free will to do that which is evil."[1] In concluding his letter he says that he is wearied with the daily necessity of clearing himself from new calumnies, and is only anxious to clear himself in any assembly whatever, provided it be under the direction of the lawful magistrates. It was with this in view that in the same month Arminius and Wtenbogaert addressed a Petition to the States of Holland begging that the National Synod might be held. They felt that they were reviled at home and abroad and could get little satisfaction in the ordinary Synods. It was only urgent necessity that made them trouble the States when they were busy in their negotiations with Spain. They were even willing to waive the revision of the *Confession* and the *Catechism*, provided that God's Word alone should rule there, and none might lord it over the faith of others.[2] They solemnly declared that they wished to introduce no novelties, but to keep to the teaching of the Christian Reformed Churches all the days of their life. The Petition was read by the States, but they would not hear of calling a Synod. Thereupon Arminius petitioned them again to arrange any kind of judicial assembly, as his work was interfered with, his testimonials disregarded, and his students suffered in consequence. It was then decided that Arminius and Gomarus should meet at the Hague before the Great Council and in the presence of four ministers in order to settle all their differences or to get a true statement of them presented to the Government. The Synod Deputies begged for a Provincial Synod in place of this meeting, but to this the States-General could not consent.[3]

Bertius, who was regent of the theological college, confirmed all that Arminius had said of the lack of unity in the University, and in a letter to Hogerbeets asked that he might have the privilege of being present at the forth-

[1] *Works*, II, 700, 701.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 46, 47; *Vita*, p. 350; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 356, 357.

[3] *Vita*, pp. 352, 353; Trigland, p. 414.

coming Conference as holding a watching brief for the general good of the college.[1] The discussion took place on May 30th at the Hague with Barnevelt's son-in-law in the chair. Gomarus began by refusing to plead his case in such a court. He acknowledged the wisdom and knowledge of the assessors, but it was a wisdom in *civil* affairs.[2] It was replied that the business of the court was to find out what the differences were, not to make any decisions. Gomarus considered this unfair, as he lived on friendly terms with Arminius, and did not attend his lectures. It was the business of the latter to declare what his objections to the *Confession* and *Catechism* were. Arminius expressed amazement at this attitude. The flames of this dispute were blazing out above the roofs of the houses, yet no one would bring a definite charge against him. He was compelled by the resolution of the States to defer his full statement until the National Synod was held. He had never taught contrary to the *Confession*, yet he was prepared to say that he differed from Gomarus on the subject of Predestination.[3]

The next day Gomarus reluctantly yielded to pressure and charged his colleague with an unsatisfactory treatment of the doctrine of Justification in saying in his letter to Hippolytus a Collibus that an act of faith was accepted for righteousness rather than being the channel of the imputed righteousness of Christ. Arminius replied in the actual words of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, which he fully approved, quoting the replies to questions 60 and 61. The latter is as follows: "Why do you say that you are justified by faith alone?" "Not because I am pleasing to God by the dignity of my own faith, but because the satisfaction of righteousness and sanctity of Christ alone are my righteousness in the presence of God."[4] This should have been satisfactory, but

[1] *Vita*, p. 358.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 359; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 47; Trigland, p. 308.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 361; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; *Vita*, pp. 361, 362; Trigland, pp. 309, 424.

[4] See Vinke, *Libri Symbolici*, etc., pp. 341–3, and Trigland, pp. 429, 430.

Gomarus continued to quibble about details which seemed mere hairsplitting to the politicians. They reported that there was no difference in fundamentals between them and they ought to live at peace. Barnevelt gave them words of exhortation and asked that the proceedings there should not be canvassed outside. Gomarus replied that he would be afraid to die and appear at God's judgment bar if he held some of the principles of his colleague. If these differences continued province would rise against province, city against city, burgher against burgher.[1] The opinion of the laymen present was probably expressed by one of them who said in private that he would rather appear at the judgment with the creed of Arminius than with the love that Gomarus displayed. It is at least certain that the most famous Dutch publicist of the century, Grotius, who was then a young man, took the side of Arminius from this time forward. Wtenbogaert was much depressed at the prospect that lay before the Reformed Church, and said to Grotius that he saw no better future for Arminius than what befell Castellio (Chatillon), who was reduced by his enemies to earn his living by sawing wood.[2]

Barnevelt had given both parties to hope that a National Synod would soon be called. It is more than likely that he hoped to postpone it until the Greek kalends. He believed that the present controversy could be tided over by patience and tact; there was no knot which diplomacy could not unravel. Here Barnevelt was profoundly mistaken, as he discovered to his undoing a few years later. A supremely clever diplomatist, he was in danger of over-confidence if he fancied that the Calvinist theologians were as pliable material as English, French and Spanish politicians and ambassadors. Richardot, the Spanish agent in the peace negotiations, said that he had served many princes and had a long training in diplomacy, but Barnevelt

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 48; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 363; *Vita*, p. 369; Trigland, p. 314.

[2] *Vita*, pp. 371, 372; cf. Maronier, *Jacobus Arminius*, pp. 280–82.

was his master.[1] He tried to ban the ordinary meetings of the Provincial Synods this year, but the outcry of indignation was too strong for him; the Synods were, however, forbidden to discuss the general question in dispute until the Synod called for that special purpose had been held. The reputed reason for delay was the pressure of state business; in reality it was a hope that the conflagration might die down. Barnevelt's popularity began to wane, and Wtenbogaert was accused of being his adviser in these subtle evasions.[2] The elder Brandt declares that Prince Maurice forbade the meeting of the Synod as likely to produce confusion, but gives no proof of his statement.

Prince Maurice was indeed in no very good humour this year, for he considered that peace with Spain would be the ruin of Holland. In this opinion he had no stronger supporters than the High Calvinists; they glorified war from their pulpits. It was true, they said, that war cost many lives, but without it life would be an eternal dying. Men spoke pitifully of the tears of widows and orphans, but it was better to weep than to laugh.[3] It is true that Maurice never descended to such extravagances as these, but he was very bitter against Barnevelt. Louise de Coligny, the widow of William the Silent, was an active peacemaker, and made use of Count William Louis of Nassau (Maurice's cousin), the French Ambassador, Jeannin, and even Wtenbogaert to bring Maurice and Barnevelt together. Wtenbogaert was approached by leading citizens both of the peace and the war party, with the plea that he should use his influence with Barnevelt. On finding that Wtenbogaert was much too cautious to embark in these deep waters, one of them departed with the indignant remark: "I thought you were a pious Christian."[4] Maurice felt that James I of

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 353; cf. Motley.

[2] *Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 48.

[3] *De triomf van den oorloch*, pamphlet, quoted Rogge, I, 340.

[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 349 (François Francken); cf. Motley, and *Archives of Orange-Nassau* for general situation; Grotius, *de Rebus Belgicis*, p. 548.

England was but a cowardly ally, and as the wealth of Holland was against him, and no foreign support was forthcoming, he had to yield at last. The truce with Spain for twelve years was signed on April 21st, 1609.

The months of negotiations were full of rumours, anonymous letters, pamphlets. It was said that Barnevelt and his friends wanted the eldest son of William the Silent, who was a Catholic and had long been an exile in Spain, back to rule; they really wanted the Spanish yoke again. A Hague notary named Danckaerts declared that Barnevelt, Wtenbogaert and D'Aerssens had been bought by Spanish gold. This was going too far, and he had to fly to England for safety.[1] The dread of the Spanish tyranny explains much that would otherwise be incredible. Moreover, men changed sides in a startling manner during the bitter wars of religion, and the change of one individual might settle the destiny of a nation. Men did not readily forget Maurice of Saxony, Henry of Navarre, nor, in Holland, Stanley and York, Leicester's lieutenants, who were responsible for the traitorous surrender of Deventer and Zutphen. It was possible for Barnevelt to imitate any of these, or for Arminius to prove a turncoat, as Lipsius had done already, and as Bertius was to do afterwards: suspicions flourished in such a soil. We can understand why extremists regarded Arminius as a secret emissary of the Pope. One of the Amsterdam preachers declared that the reason why cities were lost to Spinola, a mere Italian merchant, at the end of the war, was because it was taught from the professor's chair that the Pope was a member of the Church. Many leading citizens of Amsterdam were present, and at once thought of Arminius. He hastened to defend himself, and in a letter to Burgomaster Sebastian Egberts, his Amsterdam correspondent, he declares: "I openly profess that I do not regard the Roman Pontiff as a member of Christ's body, but as an enemy, a traitor, a sacrilegious and blasphemous man, a tyrant, a violent usurper of unjust rule over the Church, a man of sin, a son of perdition,

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 355.

a most notorious outlaw, etc. But, by this description, I mean a Pope behaving in the usual manner of Popes. But if an Adrian of Utrecht, raised to the dignity of Pope without intrigues, were to attempt a reformation of the Church and make a beginning with the Pope himself and the Papal Court, and if he were to assume to himself nothing more than the name and authority of a bishop, though holding, according to the ancient Canons of the Church, the principal place among the other bishops, I dare not give such a man these epithets." [1] He goes on to say that such a reform was not to be expected from any Pope, for the Scriptures seemed to prove that Babylon and its head, the Pope, would be destroyed at Christ's Second Coming. If he is credited with making him a member of the Church who has disfranchised himself by blasphemously claiming to be the Head of the Church because he once said that God had not yet sent a bill of divorce to the Roman Church, then he sinned in company with Junius, Trelcatius and Gomarus himself.[2]

This seems to us nowadays sufficiently thoroughgoing, but the Reformed Church of the seventeenth century had a large appetite for such teaching, and found Arminius very moderate. Already in public disputations at Leiden that year he had denounced the idolatry of the Church of Rome in its worship of the Mass, the Virgin Mary, the relics of the saints and images. The conclusion of this denunciation of idolatry of this "Church of the malignants" is that Rome "resembles the 'adulterous woman' of Proverbs xxx, 20: 'She eateth and wipeth her mouth and saith, I have done no harm.'" The corollary to this disputation was that the Pope himself was an idol.[3] This, however, was bettered in a disputation on the titles attributed to the Roman Pontiff which took place about the same time. In this the Pope was described as the Adulterer and the Pander of the Church, the False Prophet, the tail of the

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 118; *Vita*, pp. 378–82; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 51. [2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 118, September 24th, 1608.
[3] *Works*, II, 289–306.

great Red Dragon (Rev. xii, 4), the Destroyer and Perverter of the Church, the Antichrist, the wicked and perverse servant of the Gospels who beat his fellow servants, and in short the personification of those forces of persecution which the author of the Apocalypse ascribed to the Roman Empire and the Protestant Reformers transferred to the Romish Church.[1]

When it became clear that the promised National Synod would not meet in 1608, the annual Provincial Synods were allowed to meet on condition that the main question was left untouched. That of South Holland met at Dort in October and asked that all comments on the Church Formularies should be signed, sealed and delivered to the States of Holland by a month after November 23rd, when this order went out from the States to the ministers.[2] The same demand was sent to the theological professors. Arminius was allowed to make his statement in person in a full assembly of the States-General in the Hall of Session at the Hague. The Synod also wished to have an explanation of the minority report which had been presented by Arminius and his friends at the Preparatory Convention of the previous year. This question was ruled out of order by Hogerbeets and Cromhout as contrary to the decision of the States. The appearance of Arminius at the Hague on October 30th was in every way a memorable one. At last the disturber of the peace of the Reformed Church of Holland was to lay his case before a representative Assembly. Hitherto he had refused to produce his criticisms of orthodox theology in detail at the bidding of individuals or Synod deputies, saying that the proper time and place had not yet been reached. He wanted a just National Synod; moreover, he believed there was a prior obedience to the authority of the Government. Now at the bidding of the State he was prepared to make a full exposition. His *Declaration* seems to have been worthy of a great national occasion.[3]

[1] *Works*, II, 264–74.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 49; cf. *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*
[3] *Works*, I, 516–668.

If he had been charged with too much disingenuousness hitherto, he was sufficiently explicit now. He began by a clear narrative of the series of attempts that had been made to induce him to table his views, and his reasons for refusing to do so to Synod deputies who might give official reports which would not agree with his own. Nor could he be at the mercy of each individual who should adopt the "stand and deliver" attitude towards him. He had, indeed, agreed to private conferences with men like Helmichius on condition that there should be no reports of them published. His challengers would not consent to that, since it was not their own individual satisfaction that was required but, apparently, that the suspected person should himself provide materials for his accusation. No one had yet officially charged him on a single point of doctrine. There was no reason why he should be singled out from his brethren for special treatment. Moreover, he was not subject to the jurisdiction of either the North Holland or the South Holland Synod. In the absence of satisfactory evidence, his enemies were now circulating false views in his name drawn up in the form of 31 Articles and announcing to foreign Churches opinions which they, erroneously, considered him to hold. He then declared his views of Predestination and eight other subjects, concluding with his reasons why the *Catechism* and *Confession* should be revised. Festus Hommius, who drew up the *Historical Introduction to the Acts of the Synod of Dort*, has given us a by no means unbiased statement in these pages; but his own summary of the long speech of Arminius will prove that there was at least no lack of plain speaking. "He endeavoured to persuade the Illustrious the States, that in these Reformed Churches a doctrine of Divine Predestination was taught which was contrary and repugnant to the Nature of God; to His wisdom, justice and goodness; to the nature of man, to his free will; to the work of the Creation; to the nature of life and death eternal; and finally with that of sin, which took away the grace of God and destroyed it; was contrary to the Glory of

God and the salvation of man; which made God the author of sin, hindered sorrow for sin, lessened the earnest desire for piety and good works, extinguished the ardour for prayer, took away 'the fear and trembling' with which we ought 'to work out our own salvation,' produced despair, subverted the Gospel, hindered the ministry of the word, and lastly overturned the foundations not only of the Christian religion but of all religion." Even then, Hommius omits to say that Arminius showed that this doctrine was not found in the early Church, was the cause of all the trouble in the Dutch Churches for thirty years past, the chief object of the scorn of Jesuit and Anabaptist critics and not even approved by the *Catechism* and *Confession*. On all the other subjects he was singularly moderate. "I never taught that a true believer can either totally or finally fall away from the faith and perish, yet I will not conceal that there are passages of Scripture that seem to me to wear that aspect."[1] The opinion of Pelagius appeared to St. Augustine to be this: "that man could fulfil the law of God by his own proper strength and ability, but with still greater facility by means of the grace of Christ. I have already most abundantly stated the great distance at which I stand from such a sentiment,"[2] quoting the words of Christ, "Without Me ye can do nothing." There is no approach to an unlimited freedom of the will in man; unregenerate man is totally incapable of a good will to anything, and the existence of the capacity in the regenerate man is based entirely on the continued aids of divine grace.[3] His reasons for the revision of the Formularies are sensible enough, but he still reserved detailed amendments to the National Synod, while indicating one or two weak places in the *Confession*. Other Churches had revised their symbols, and it was necessary to assure men that the Scriptures were the sole rule of faith. He evidently leaned to a simplifica-

[1] *Works*, I, 603; cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 49; *Vita*, pp. 385, 386.
[2] *Works*, I, 622–3.
[3] Ibid., I, 596.

tion and abbreviation of all formulæ. In conclusion, he declared his willingness to learn; the need of the Churches in agreeing to what was both true and necessary to salvation and to that alone, and that he himself would be no party to schism if his brethren could no longer tolerate his presence in the ministry.[1]

The eloquence and moderation of Arminius made a profound impression, and it was felt that some move was necessary to checkmate the success of this clear and outspoken statement. Gomarus was urged to demand a similar privilege, and he duly made his appearance before the States of Holland on December 12th. The zealous supporter of the dominant creed traversed not only the creed of his colleague, but his subtle and insinuating conduct. It was not merely that his beliefs agreed rather with those of the Jesuits than with those of his Reformed brethren, but he imitated their methods also. Indeed he went further than the followers of Loyola in his disingenuousness, and was not to be trusted. Now he said the Pope was Antichrist, and the next day that he was our brother and a member of the Church. He refused the loving approach of his fellow ministers and declined to publish a sincere statement, in the hope that by delay he might win over more to his opinions. He despised the decrees of Synods, Classes and Presbyteries, and ever appealed to the tribunal of the secular authorities. In reality he was steadily enervating the true Reformed doctrine, and was heterodox not only on the subject of Predestination but concerning the Holy Scriptures, the sacred Trinity, the satisfaction of Christ and most of the fundamental questions. The danger was that the States should be misled as Constantine the Great was blinded by a court preacher at Nicæa.[2] This was a clear thrust at Wtenbogaert, who was compared to the courtly Eusebius of Cæsarea, while the implied resemblance between Arminius and the arch-heretic Arius lay behind. The appeal of both

[1] *Works*, I, 668.

[2] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort;* Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 368–70; *Vita*, pp. 394–8; Maronier, *Jac. Arminius*, p. 303.

orators for a National Synod was declined, and it was rumoured that Eusebius had been at work behind the scenes. It seems more probable that Barnevelt was the stage manager, since Arminius at least was sincerely in earnest in his hope that there might be some speedy settlement. His desire to face any tribunal, however severe, is expressed in a latter to his friend Egberts at Amsterdam, written on December 10th. He declares that the rumours against him are so absurd that if Prince Maurice had drunk a cup of poison there would be some persons who would suspect Arminius of having persuaded the Prince to take it. His wife's relatives tell him that Articles purporting to be his are being circulated by a certain elder in Amsterdam to his detriment. No one dares to tell him who the elder is. Plancius appears to have asserted that Arminius had made his oration against predestination, but would never hand it in writing to the States against the National Synod according to orders. He declares that he has already done so. Hitherto he has been charged with too much silence, now they say that he has used the sword instead of the shield, and that beyond the bounds of reason. On the contrary, he declares that he spoke with much restraint, and his august audience had the same opinion.[1] A few days later he wrote again, describing the vehement oration of Gomarus to the States of Holland and West Friesland in which he had been accused of various heresies. He pauses in the midst of his own complaints to inquire, "What enrages the King of England and Scotland so violently against the Puritans that he should seem to hate them worse than a dog or a snake?"[2] The royal theologian was presently to give his attention to Holland and to influence events there as well as in his own kingdoms—in neither place in the interests of conciliation and peace.

One of the accusers of his brethren was brought to book in the person of Sibrandus Lubbertus. He wrote a letter of rather fulsome flattery to Oldenbarnevelt, stating once more the differences between the minority

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 123. [2] Ibid., No. 124.

and majority reports of the preparatory Synod and also his objections to the *Gouda Catechism*. He had written to the foreign Churches and found that they agreed entirely with the judgment of the majority. As to the *Gouda Catechism* it might be accepted as it stood by Castellio or Socinus. The crucial questions were avoided. He also wrote at the same time to Wtenbogaert, and said in a short note that the foreign Churches disapproved of the recommendations of Arminius and Wtenbogaert about the National Synod. He also enclosed a note from Arminius and his own reply. "If you wish to show this to Arminius, I agree, for I do not wish to do anything secretly in this business."[1] This was too much to endure. The reply of Wtenbogaert struck a deep silence into the man who had been slandering both friends behind their backs to the Churches of France, Germany and Scotland. He had never said what his communications with the foreign Churches were, nor what were their replies. The method of whispering and circulating odious charges was hardly calculated to bring peace to the Church. As to the *Gouda Catechism*, Wtenbogaert was unwilling to accept any responsibility for that. He does congratulate Lubbertus on having confuted Socinus, and declares that when the book of Lubbertus on that subject is published he will read the bane and the antidote together, as he had not yet read the works of the arch-heretic of the age.[2]

The enemies of Arminius were unable to say that he refused to come out into the open after 1608, for he wrote three important apologies that year in which his position was made clear to all who were willing to receive it. The first was the Letter to Hippolytus a Collibus, the second his *Declaration* to the States of Holland, and the third his Defence against the Thirty-one Articles which was written before the *Declaration*, but was probably not in circulation until the beginning of 1609. The articles in question had been scattered through the Churches of Holland as purporting to set

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 120. [2] Ibid., No. 122.

forth the views of Arminius and his friend Adrian Borrius (van den Borre). "The dispersion of these articles is not a very recent circumstance," says Arminius, "for above two years ago seventeen out of these thirty-one came into my hands expressed exactly in the same words."[1] The addition of fourteen more articles and the wider circulation that followed made some reply necessary. Arminius maintained that his views were here exaggerated and distorted, and that some of the articles did not even make sense. Still he set to work article by article, and showed how far he agreed or disagreed with its statements. He answered for Borrius at the same time. In general he was able to show that there was no article "whose contrary has been believed by the Church Universal and held as an article of faith; some of them, however, are so artfully constructed that these which are their opposites savour of novelty and send forth an odour of falsehood."[2] The methods employed against him appear from the account he gives of the visit of a minister who pressed him for criticisms on the *Catechism* and *Confession*, not officially but for his edification. Arminius could not refuse this request, although his rule was to refuse to produce criticisms of the formularies before the meeting of the National Synod. He criticized the use of the plural "innate sins" as a description of original sin in the answer to the tenth question of the *Catechism*. This criticism was reported to a third party the same day, and was used as one of the erroneous articles of belief that Arminius held.[3] His replies cover much ground that has been traversed already. His use of Scripture quotation is as full as ever, and the exegesis generally marked by sanity and common sense. He does not hesitate to quote Augustine, Prosper of Aquitaine, Peter Martyr in his defence side by side with Bullinger and Calvin. Some of his remarks are worthy of emphasis as they contain the heart of his message. On the subject of the Divine Decrees he says, "When God is pleased to

[1] *Works*, I, 670. [2] Ibid., II, 28, 29.
[3] Ibid., II, 58–60; cf. Vinke, *Libri Symbolici*, etc., pp. 308–9.

employ His creatures in the execution of His decrees, He does not take away from them their nature."[1] Again, with one of his rare illustrations, he marks the relation between Grace and Free Will. "A rich man bestows, on a poor and famishing beggar, alms by which he may be able to maintain himself and his family. Does it cease to be a pure gift because the beggar extends his hand to receive it?"[2] Or finally in a closing word in explaining occasional hesitations he shows that he is worlds away from his confident opponents. "The most learned man, and he who is conversant with the Scriptures is ignorant of many things. . . . It is better for him to speak somewhat doubtfully than dogmatically about those things of which he has no certain knowledge."[3]

The little town of Alkmaar was the scene during this year of events which were by no means helpful to the liberal party in the Dutch Church. That district had already seen the beginnings of schism in the Church twenty years before this date. Cornelius Wiggertszoon, a minister of Hoorn, had been suspended by a North Holland Synod, held at Alkmaar in 1587, for his views on Original Sin and Election. Eleven years later he was excommunicated, but he continued to hold a conventicle in his own house with the connivance of the magistrates. At Alkmaar there were three preachers with the usual differences of opinion. The eldest was a dull, unlearned man named Pieter Corneliszoon, who had begun life as a basket-maker. In 1596 he received as a colleague Cornelis van Hille, who had been born at Norwich in 1568, and was baptized there by one of the Dutch ministers then in exile. He was joined in 1597 by Adolf de Jager (Venator), an orator and scholar who brought new life into the Church. He is said to have gone visiting with an unpointed Hebrew Bible under his arm. Very soon there was rivalry between Venator and Hillenius in which opposing opinions counted for something and the antagonisms of their

[1] *Works*, I, 697. [2] Ibid., II, 52.
[3] Ibid., II, 61; *Vita*, pp. 374–5.

wives counted for more. The High Calvinists suspected the popular preacher. "It does not make one a limb of Christ's body," he said, "to belong to a congregation where the pure word is preached and the sacrament administered, but each must show in himself faith and hope and love, of which the last is the greatest."[1] In 1602 he actually wanted Wiggertszoon, who was then under the ban of the Church, to preach, as he happened to be in the town. This could not be tolerated, and Venator protested against Genevan tyranny. The next year he took in young students and coached them in the classics. They even acted one of Terence's comedies, and Venator himself was not above writing rather dubious poems.[2] His colleague and the Classis objected, but he defended himself by the example of other preachers who engaged in trade, or even made maps! This was an undoubted thrust at the famous Plancius, one of the chief geographers of his time. The Synod, however, would not hear of it. They said that a preacher should not read comedies, and suspended Venator from administering the sacraments. He made his peace with the Church the next year, and there was calm at Alkmaar for four years. Then in September 1608 the local Classis asked all ministers to subscribe to a declaration that the two formularies of the Church "were entirely agreeable to the Word of God and the fundamentals of salvation, and to promise that they would maintain the said doctrine, and reject and oppose, to the best of their power, whatever was contrary to it."[3] Venator was absent ill, but four ministers of the neighbourhood refused to sign. The youngest of these was immediately suspended from the ministry, the other three were given some weeks to consider it. They appealed to the States, who sent a letter to the Classis asking for details and ordering that the ministers should be allowed to resume their functions. The Classis replied that it was an ecclesiastical matter and should

[1] Quoted Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 319–20.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II., 53; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I., 320.
[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 52.

be referred to the North Holland Synod, which was meeting at Hoorn on October 28th. The North Holland Synod strongly supported the action of the Classis and blamed the ministers who appealed to the secular authority. During the Synod, Venator went to supper with the other preachers at the house of William Bardes, the son of an Amsterdam burgomaster. Plancius, who preached the official Synod sermon, was present, and said that the Romanists were as great enemies as the Jews and the Turks; that, it may be remarked, was the time of the high-water mark of Turkish success in Europe. Venator was foolish enough to challenge this statement and defended the Christian character of Rome.[1] This was of course remembered against him. At the next meeting of the Alkmaar Classis Venator was asked to sign the new declaration and, on his refusal, was suspended from the ministry. This was too much for the magistrates, and the majority of the Town Council decided that Venator should continue his ministry until the decision of the Synod was known; meanwhile, he should not preach against the *Catechism* or *Confession*, but send in such criticisms as he might have to the States. This declaration involved a new war between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. His colleagues did not attend his ministry; the deacons came, but only to take up the collection and then depart. The popular preacher, however, did not lack a congregation. Soon a new scandal arose over his relations with women, and in January 1609 the Synod Deputies, with Plancius at their head, applied to the Council for his suspension. Plancius was not content with the new charge, but went on to charges of secret Romanizing tendencies also.[2] The States next sent Hogerbeets and Johan van Santen to Alkmaar to restore the suspended ministers, and to get to the bottom of the charges against Venator. The finding of the court of inquiry was that 'sufficient proofs were not forthcoming against him. A solution of this difficult problem had, however, not yet been reached.

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 326.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 54; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 328.

There was no way of peace between secular authorities that sent peremptory orders to ecclesiastical courts, and the ecclesiastical courts that refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the secular power. It now became the fashion of the States to promise that a National Synod should meet when the Alkmaar Classis proved itself amenable.[1]

Meanwhile the health of Arminius was visibly breaking down. He had a serious attack at the beginning of February 1609, which made work impossible for some time. A temporary recovery gave him the opportunity of a few months more of patient toil, but the mark of death was already on him. Almost a year before this he had written to his friend van den Borre from Utrecht, where he had gone for a few days' rest, that he felt the air was kinder to him there. He had neither pain nor lassitude nor cough, and enjoyed the pleasant June weather. He had travelled by boat and suffered little from the journey: the offer of a drive from Leiden to Utrecht he had been compelled to decline as he could not bear to sit up so long, for the jarring of the spine was too severe.[2] Doubtless neither Dutch roads nor Dutch carriages were as good then as they are to-day, but these are the words of an invalid. His life was, in fact, from now onwards, that of a sick man with occasional attacks of severe illness, which completely prostrated him. He wrote to Wtenbogaert on March 15th, 1609,to report a gradual recovery, a letter full of thanksgiving to God and reverent wonder at the mysterious discipline to which they were being subjected.[3] For the controversy showed no signs of abating. In shops and market-place the debates between the supporters of Gomarus and of Arminius knew little pause, though the disputants were often hard put to it as to which professor was for Free Will and which for Irresistible Grace. To cure this ignorance the theses of the two theologians on Predestination which had been propounded in 1604 were

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 330; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 64–5.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 116, June 23rd, 1608.
[3] Ibid., No. 125.

now translated into Dutch.[1] This publication in the vulgar tongue was the occasion for the beginning of a pamphlet war which was to continue for many years and added much to the bitterness of the conflict. The veteran Delft minister, Reinier Donteclock, wrote a *Dialogue* in which he showed that Arminius was an enemy of the Church, and such teaching as his could never be tolerated in one of the Church's professors. At the same time he admitted that there had been similar differences at Leiden before, and that Gomarus often expressed views which could be tolerated as his own opinions but not accepted as the authoritative teaching of the Church. To this a reply was forthcoming from the pen of J. Arnold Corvinus, like van den Borre, a friend of Arminius and a Leiden minister. He published his treatise anonymously with the title, *A Christian and Serious Exhortation to Christian Peace*. Many believed this was written by Wtenbogaert ; in any case it provoked a reply from Donteclock which prompted the friends of Arminius to translate more of his works into Dutch to end the false accusations against him. The theses that were now published were those on *The Prescience of God with regard to Sin*, *The Free Will of Man and its Efficacy*, and *Concerning Indulgences and Purgatory*.[2]

At the same time Arminius and Wtenbogaert concluded their correspondence with Sibrandus Lubbertus. The latter had been troubled by the vigorous defence which they had sent out to the foreign Churches in reply to his accusations and apparently felt that his truthfulness had been impugned to so distinguished a Calvinist leader as Paraeus of Heidelberg. His letter on the subject has been lost, but its tenor can be surmised from the original apology of the two "heretics" and from the terms of their reply to Lubbertus, dated April 28th, 1609.[3] In addition to his objections to their

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 54 ; *Vita*, pp. 409, 410. See *Works*, III, 521 ff. Editor knows only the Latin version.

[2] *Vita*, pp. 410, 411 ; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 55 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 371–5.

[3] Cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 104 and 127.

charges of inaccuracy in his statements and meanness in his methods he seems to have said that their doctrines were the laughing-stock of scholars.[1] Their reply was that it was not they who had accused him to Paraeus, but he them. Indeed he had spread atrocious suspicions of them throughout Europe. It was no matter for jest, but serious grief. They refused to discuss the subject further with him, but submitted all to the decision of the States-General.[2] He replied immediately on May 1st, saying that suspicion had been widespread long before he made any statement about them. All that he had done was to describe the discussions that had taken place at the Hague in May 1607. Arminius had written to the foreign Churches on the subject before he did. It was well known how they were at work daily to win the politicians over to their side. Their contempt for the judgment of ecclesiastical courts and preference for secular judgments in ecclesiastical affairs could not be praised. Here he touched the nerve, for the greater part of the unpopularity of Arminius and Wtenbogaert with their brethren in the ministry was undoubtedly due to their close alliance with the political oligarchy and their constant refusal to submit theological questions to assemblies in which the Church alone was represented. Lubbertus saw that further correspondence was useless, and declared that he would trouble them no further with his letters.[3]

At this point the most famous pupil of Arminius appears on the scene in the person of Simon Bischop, better known as Episcopius, who was destined to be at the centre of the storm for many years to come. He had been born at Amsterdam in 1583, trained at Leiden, and was now temporarily at Franeker in the midst of the heavy and dull Frisian students whom he could not entirely admire. He was led into a public disputation with Lubbertus on the subject of Romans vii, and maintained the position of Arminius, that it referred to the unregenerate man, with so much success that his opponents declared that Arminius himself could not have held his ground

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, I, 90. [2] Ibid., I, 91. [3] Ibid., I, 91.

better. He gave a long account of the discussion in a letter to Arminius, full of tender concern for the health of his master, of enthusiasm for his cause, friendship to the Arminian circle at Leiden and a certain youthful intellectual arrogance that never seems to have left him. He had little regard for the mental qualities of Lubbertus, and even preferred the rustic straightforwardness of Gomarus to the inept sarcasms, dodges and devices of the Franeker professor.[1] The usual arguments were raised against him: you have that from Socinus, or Pelagius, or the weight of the fathers is against you. "I have never seen that in Socinus," replies Episcopius, "nor does that affect the question, for truth is truth, by whomsoever it is spoken." Elijah would not be lacking for an Elisha to take up his mantle when the fiery chariot should part them asunder.

Episcopius had not gone to Franeker to sit at the feet of Lubbertus, but to complete his theological course under the great Hebrew scholar Drusius. He kept up a regular correspondence with Leiden and received from his friend van den Borre a vivid account of a public disputation in the University there on July 25th, 1609. The subject was *The Calling of Men to Salvation*, in which Arminius opposed the current views of the irresistible force of divine grace as expounded by James Bontebal. In this vocation in various ways the divine grace was at work as the Efficient Cause, the Antecedent Cause and the Instrumental Cause challenging and reinforcing the human will: "And as God does nothing in time that He has not decreed from all eternity to do, this vocation is likewise instituted and administered according to God's eternal decree: so that what man soever is called in time, was from all eternity predestinated to be called, and to be called in that state, time, place and mode, and with what efficacy, in and with which he was predestinated."[2] This is a much more Calvinistic statement than a modern Arminian would make, but

[1] *Epist. of Præst. Vir.*, No. 131.

[2] *Works*, II, 230–35, 395–7; cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 130; *Vita*, pp. 402–6; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 375.

Arminius added that he could not say in what manner the Holy Spirit effected conversion. All that could be said was that it was *not* by irresistible grace. These subtleties were bandied backwards and forwards before a large audience from 9 o'clock to 11 on this summer morning, and the debate was beginning to flag when there occurred an interesting interlude. A certain Adrian Smith, who was supposed to be a Jesuit, intervened and endeavoured to impale Arminius on the horns of a dilemma. The latter quickly roused himself and with his wonted ingenuity and alertness showed that the concurrence of free will with grace offered no scope for boasting, as the very nature of Faith, Hope and Love excluded boasting. If Arminius were right, said the Jesuit, a man made himself to differ from his fellows, contrary to the affirmation of Saint Paul in 1 Cor. iv, 7. Arminius showed that the reference of this passage was not to the subject of conversion, but to the gifts of tongues, miracles, etc., which might furnish reasons for boasting since it is "knowledge that puffeth up," not love. "A very trite reply," muttered the Jesuit, but the discussion was at an end.[1] Gomarus had been present and bore the latter part of the debate with growing signs of irritability. His colour rose, now he scribbled a little, now he whispered to his neighbour, Dr. Everard Vorstius, the Professor of Medicine, now he looked round the assembly and muttered under his breath. He seemed to wish to take part, but contented himself with exclaiming, "What impudence is this?" At the end he greeted Arminius with the remark, "The reins have been given up to the Papists in fine style to-day!" Arminius could not see how this could be true, and, when his colleague declared that he would publicly refute what had been advanced, added that he was ready for any discussion, as the doctrine of Irresistible Grace was contrary to the Scriptures, to antiquity, and to the *Catechism* and *Confession*. At that Gomarus departed in some heat, leaving Arminius with the Jesuit and Dr. Vorstius.

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 130.

The latter confessed that he did not understand the question, so Arminius turned to the Jesuit and asked him what the discussion had to do with the Papacy. He merely expressed surprise that such views were defended in their Academy. Arminius said that they were the opinions of Augustine himself. Adrian Smith admitted that to be the case, but departed without pursuing an interesting question further.[1]

It is difficult to follow the train of thought of Gomarus. He may have imagined that there was some collusion between Arminius and the Jesuit, since it was notorious that the Jesuits were most violently opposed to the tenets of High Calvinist theology. For some years past at Louvain University they had been the chief antagonists of those in their own communion whose theology was fundamentally Augustinian. One of the students at Louvain in those years was Cornelius Jansenius, afterwards Bishop of Ypres. He became the chief protagonist for Augustinian theology in the seventeenth century, and the contest between his followers, the Jansenists, and the Jesuits continued on the soil of France the battle between grace and free will that was now beginning between Calvinist and Arminian in Protestant circles. It was frequently said that Arminius borrowed his arguments from the Jesuits, and there is no doubt that he was familiar with the works of their most learned authority at that time, Cardinal Bellarmine. Indeed, in a letter written this year to Vorstius he says: "I never said that Bellarmine's fourth volume was incapable of being refuted; but I have said—and I adhere to the same declaration—that, according to my judgment, no solid refutation has yet been given to those arguments by which Bellarmine shows that the following consequences flow from the writings of some of our divines: God is the author of sin, God really sins, God is the only sinner, and sin is no sin at all."[2] Vorstius had written against the Jesuits, but Arminius considered that he had not met these arguments successfully. He would have

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 130.
[2] *Works*, I, 580, March 31st, 1609.

said that the High Calvinist view might be extenuated by parallels from the writings of the Schoolmen, but it was preferable to deny that their sentiments represented the faith of the Reformed Churches. " It is the province of no man to exercise dominion over the faith of another, because ' One is our Master, even Christ.' " The remark of Gomarus can hardly have arisen from the subject-matter of the disputation, for, in his exposition of the theme, Arminius had made an attack on Scholastic Theology, which came into existence when the Anti-christ was revealed, and never flourished save when evangelical truth had been banished from the Church.[1] We must therefore believe that Gomarus imagined that the Jesuit was in reality a confederate of his colleague. The same day Arminius retired for rest to his native town of Oudewater, where another violent attack of illness prostrated him.

Meanwhile the Synod deputies kept pressing for the promised National Synod. On February 18th, 1609, they wrote to Arminius saying that for three months they had in vain waited for his criticisms of the *Conference*.[2] He replied at the beginning of April, saying that he had certainly promised that his remarks should be forthcoming in writing, but that the States had now ordered that they should be sent in sealed to them ; this was what he proposed to do. His colleague, Bertius, however, was not so cautious. He expounded in detail the points in which he differed from the accepted symbols of the Dutch Church, and sent the document in to the Synod Deputies.[3] The States did not now definitely refuse to call a National Synod, but tried to compromise, by summoning the two professors once more to the Hague, telling them both to bring four ministers with them, not as adversaries but as witnesses.[4] The first session of this last conference between the two

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 130.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 376.
[3] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*
[4] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 55 ; *Hist. Introd.* ; *Vita*, p. 411 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 377.

leaders began at 7 o'clock on the morning of August 13th, 1609. Gomarus and Arminius sat at opposite ends of the table. The former had brought with him Festus Hommius of Leiden, Ruardus Acronius of Schiedam, Jacobus Rolandus (Roeland) of Amsterdam and Johannes Bogardus (Bogaerd) of Haarlem. The supporters of Arminius were Wtenbogaert and van den Borre, with Venator of Alkmaar and Grevinchovius (Grevinchoven) of Rotterdam. The choice of Venator could not have been made in the interests of peace, and his presence was soon challenged since he was under ecclesiastical censure. Barnevelt maintained that no charges had been proved either against his life or teaching, and that he could not be barred because he approved the necessity of a revision of the *Catechism*.[1] In reply to the conciliatory opening speech of the Land's Advocate, Gomarus and Bogaerd said that they could not rob the Church of its freedom of judgment. It was not a question of an agreement between Gomarus and Arminius, but between Arminius and the Church's teaching. They were not prepared to put the revision of the *Catechism* forward as the main question. Barnevelt maintained that that was the cardinal issue. "No," said Gomarus, "that concerns other countries as well as our own; if we touch it we shall burn our fingers." His quarrel with his colleague was not over that issue. Arminius taught Free Will in a popish fashion; let us begin with Justification. The session broke up at 11 a.m., and the discussion was resumed later. Arminius agreed that the subject of the *Confession* might stand on one side, but in that case they should begin with Predestination, as he differed but little from Gomarus on Justification. Gomarus had a different opinion, and had his way. As it was impossible to avoid this theological discussion in a secular court, Gomarus asked that the arguments should be in writing, and should be handed on for judgment to a National Synod. The representatives of the States agreed provided that the Conference was now a *viva voce* one and that all the assessors should hand in

[1] *Vita*, p. 412; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 377, 378.

their judgments of it within fourteen days of the close of the sessions, to be preserved by the States for the National Synod.[1] This was very much of a concession, as all the laymen present, mostly high officials of the States, agreed with the strong argument of Wtenbogaert that the main issue was to find some way of peace on the question of the revision of the standards. Nevertheless, the old round was pursued, Justification was followed by Predestination, then came Irresistible Grace and Free Will and the doctrine of Final Perseverance. Gomarus declared that there were several other subjects on which he and his colleague were at variance.

In the sessions held between August 18th and 21st the health of Arminius once more broke down, and he was compelled to return to Leiden.[2] The Conference therefore came to an end, but not before Wtenbogaert, in a long and eloquent speech, had given a masterly historical survey of the variations of Protestant theology since the Reformation, together with his reasons why the State should be master in its own house. He argued that the extreme Predestinarian position as held by Calvin and Luther was due to the fact that the chief errors they wished to remove were (1) that men could be justified by good works, and (2) that they could by their own strength attain the grace that was necessary for salvation. Many reformers, however, saw that their leaders had gone too far, and Melanchthon even described this extreme position as a "mad Manicheeism." In Holland there had been a series of teachers who spoke of Predestination in softer terms. It would be of untold value to Protestants if they could agree on fundamentals, and permit some differences on secondary questions. This exaltation of the *Catechism* and the *Confession* into a Rule of Doctrine was a reversion to the Papists' perpetual appeal to the authority of the fathers. Some had even said that the Scriptures must be interpreted in accordance with these standards. He referred once

[1] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; *Vita*, p. 414.

[2] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; *Vita*, pp. 415–19; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 385–6.

more to the reference of Gomarus to Arius and the court preacher Eusebius. He declared that he was no Arian, nor Papist, nor Calvinist, nor Lutheran, nor Pelagian, but a Christian. He then proceeded to outline the remedies for the present distress. God indeed was the only Physician, but His secondary means employed were the officers set over the people. He then proceeded to a thoroughgoing Erastian demonstration of the fact that rival ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions in the one State were intolerable. The magistrates must not only see that the ministry is maintained and the Word of God preached, not merely cleanse the temples and keep the peace, but needed to have so perfect a knowledge of their religion that they could exercise oversight over the call of ministers, the summoning of Church Courts and the making of ecclesiastical laws. He agreed that a National Synod was necessary, but the State must see that Satan did not preside over it. The business of the Synod should be to promote mutual toleration, inquire into the reasons for the growth of Popery and restore the discipline of the Church.[1] It is clear that Gomarus and his supporters would disagree with almost every single word of this clever oration, and on the latter half of his speech at least they would receive the general approbation of the Church of to-day.

Within the prescribed time Gomarus was ready with his document for the States, but that of Arminius was never forthcoming. He had to write a letter of apology to the States of Holland on September 12th to say that he was too ill to complete his paper. All he wished to say was in the *Declaration* he had made before them and published in the previous year. If his sickness was likely to be unto death he was prepared to appear at the judgment seat of Christ in that confession which he believed to agree with the Word of God.[2] In spite of the attention of several distinguished doctors he grew

[1] Wtenb., *Kerk Hist.*, p. 417, quoted; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 56–60.
[2] *Fun. Orat.* of Bertius; *Vita*, pp. 424, 425; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 89.

steadily worse. He was racked by a cough night and day, and his feverish symptoms increased. He lost much of the sight of his left eye, and his enemies did not hesitate to say of him, as was said of Milton later, that it was a judgment of heaven upon him. They quoted Zech. xi, 17: "Woe to the idol shepherd that leaveth the flock! the sword shall be upon his arm and upon his right eye; his arm shall be clean dried up and his right eye shall be utterly darkened," and also Zech. xiv, 12: "This shall be the plague wherewith the Lord will smite all the people that have fought against Jerusalem: Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in their holes, and their tongue shall consume away in their mouth."[1] His friends Bertius and Wtenbogaert preferred to speak of the placid gentleness, and even gaiety of his death-bed, and his constant prayers for the unity of the Church of Christ. He made his will declaring, in his favourite phrase, that *in all good conscience* he had walked with sincerity in his vocation. His chief care had been that his teaching should agree with the Scriptures for the purpose of furthering truth, godliness and peace in Christendom, except with the Papacy, with which no unity of faith, no bond of piety and no Christian peace could be preserved.[2] Of his younger friends Episcopius hurried from Franeker to be with him at the last, and Borrius was at his bedside day by day until the end. He died about noon on October 19th, 1609, at the age of forty-nine, and was buried in St. Peter's Church, Leiden, three days later. English and American visitors to that interesting church will mark the resting-place of John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, they may pause before the tomb of Scaliger, the greatest scholar of that age, or linger to read the inscription to the famous doctor, Boerhaave, but they will search in vain for any memorial of Arminius. Yet there was no lack of tributes of respect and affection for him when he passed away. On the day of his death

[1] *Vita*, pp. 426, 427; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 389; Trigland, p. 444.
[2] *Vita*, pp. 431, 432; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 390.

Bertius, the regent of the Divinity School of the University, pronounced a funeral oration in which he said: "There lived a man in Holland who could not be sufficiently esteemed by those who knew him, and who was not esteemed only by those who knew him too little." [1]

The University gave to his widow a testimony to his high character and great gifts as a teacher. This was signed by the Professor in History, Daniel Heinsius, who was at a later date to turn against the friends of Arminius. For the moment he broke out into Latin verse in a comparison between the dead theologian and that Arminius who defeated Varus in the Teutoburger Wald 1,600 years before; both alike were victorious over Rome.[2] Heinsius was not the only distinguished man to write memorial verses on this sad occasion. Dominic Baudius, Professor of History in the University of Leiden, ran to nearly 600 lines of appreciation, while the tribute of Grotius, if less extensive, was of greater elegance and more value. A misprint in the poem of the rising young publicist had the misfortune to rouse the ire of Gomarus. The change of "totus" into "solus" appeared to make him say that while Arminius was labouring for things of the greatest importance, he *alone* glowed with the longing for a better life instead of saying that he was entirely aflame with that longing. When Grotius heard of the irritation of Gomarus he at once wrote a letter of explanation to him in which he spoke with more restrained enthusiasm. "I had known the man only as I knew many men, and not with any special bond of intimate friendship, . . . but I always admired in him an uncommon genius and a certain transparent eloquence. . . . However, as to those questions in which Arminius disagreed with you and many good men, I knew little about them; and if I did, I would not rashly intervene. By God's good grace, I think it is allowable to us who are busy with other affairs to remain in ignorance about many things, and to suspend our judgment about

[1] *Vita*, p. 435.

[2] Ibid., p. 436; cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 62; *Works*, I, 48–9.

others."[1] The interest of Grotius in theology was greater than he pretended, but if his letter is too cautious in its praise of Arminius he found at least one apt phrase in his verses which set forth the man :

Cui charitate temperata libertas.

There was in Arminius all that passion for liberty which made his country so glorious in those heroic years of its struggle with Spain, together with an absence of fanaticism which had its real root in a benevolent temperament which had been chastened and purified in a long experience in the school of Christian love. Zealously loved by his friends, mistrusted by his opponents because of his subtlety, his was a name set for the falling and rising of many in Israel. When both sides have been heard we can at least admire the consistent and laborious student, whose sole aim in life seems to have been to discover divine truth where he judged it could alone be found, and to hand on that truth in its purity to his hearers.

[1] *Vita*, pp. 444, 445.

CHAPTER V

THE GREAT REMONSTRANCE

If it was hoped that the controversies which gathered round the name of Arminius would pass away with his death these hopes were doomed to an early disappointment.[1] Those who shared his views became more vocal when their leader was taken away; the very eulogiums paid to him in funeral orations were taken up as gages of battle; Alkmaar continued at the very moment of his decease in a condition bordering on civil war, and out of the question of his successor there sprang up a turmoil which involved not only all the United Provinces, but their relations with Great Britain and its theological monarch. The funeral arrangements were carried out by Laurens Reael of Amsterdam, the father-in-law of Arminius, who wrote to Wtenbogaert asking him to invite the Senators Hogerbeets and Hadrian Junius to come with him from the Hague to the funeral, as they were old friends of Arminius. He was more uncertain about the Amsterdam magistrates, some of whom were then on deputation at the Hague.[2] We do not know whether they attended or not, as there are no details extant of the ceremony which took place at St. Peter's, Leiden, on October 22nd. We do know that Peter Bertius pronounced a funeral oration which has preserved for us some intimate details of his life, but proved too appreciative for the taste of his colleague Gomarus; the effort of Dominic Baudius, the official historian and Professor of Rhetoric of the University, however, proved altogether too tepid for Wtenbogaert.[3] This signifies very little, for that impressionable rhetori-

[1] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

[2] *Brieven Wten.*, LXXXVIII, October 20th, 1609.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 136, February 4th, 1610.

cian was much more concerned about the fact that, widower though he was, he was over head and ears in love with a widow, and wanted all the help that Wtenbogaert and his wife could give him in his suit. The appearance of this Gawain among the sombre theologians and politicians of the period always serves to enliven correspondence, especially when he breaks out into Latin verse in praise of his Maria ; Calvin himself could not repress human nature. We are glad that his suit was successful, but alas, he died of delirium tremens on August 24th, 1613.[1] He was not one of the weightiest members of the University, but, such as it was, his influence was on the side of the Arminians.

At the time of the death of Arminius the chief centre of disturbance in this theological strife was the little town of Alkmaar in North Holland. We have heard of its rival preachers Venator and Hillenius before, and are likely to hear of them again. The character of Venator had been cleared from the grosser charges against him,[2] and men had almost forgotten that he had taught his pupils to act the *Andria* of Terence ; but he wrote books and gave utterance to dangerous opinions. He had for years enlivened the town by his preaching, and the High Calvinists were constantly on the watch for some new delinquency ; even his friends dreaded the rashness of his eloquence. For the present he had been suspended from office by the Alkmaar Classis along with four other ministers for refusing to sign the *Belgic Confession*. The States-General had demanded that the five preachers should be restored to office, but were met by a steady opposition on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities. From this local dispute arose a contest between Church and State which led to new attempts to define their respective functions. In September 1609 the Synods of North and South Holland renewed

[1] Cf. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 406 ; *Brieven Wten.*, I, 90, 121, 127.

[2] Trigland, p. 495, admits that the finding of States' Deputies on January 17th, 1609, showed that evidence was insufficient for civil process ; adds, however, that this was not good enough in case of a minister.

their demand for a Provincial Synod, but were told by the States that this could not be granted until the Alkmaar Classis had restored the five preachers.[1] Deputies from the States went over to Alkmaar in the interests of peace, and found that it would be possible to reinstate four of the five on certain conditions, but the High Calvinists were adamant on the subject of Venator. Had he not said that Old Testament believers had no knowledge of the sufferings of Christ, that there was a capacity for good in the hearts of the unregenerate, that the great word of John iii, 16, proved that the grace of God was valid to all who should prove their election by their faith? He had even said that the Romish Church held the fundamentals of the faith, that the Church had many doors, and each sect chose its own, and that men should aim at a reunited Christendom.[2] How was it possible to live at peace with such a preacher, especially when he met criticism by the "knavish trick" of answering in the words of Scripture only? The States summoned both Venator and Hillenius to appear before them at the Hague to a Conference, the result of which might have been foretold. Thomas Fuller has spoken the truest word on such vain efforts: "What Elijah said passionately, 'I am not better than my fathers,' may be soberly said of this Conference: It was no happier than any of its ancestors which went before it. Let me add, also, and no unhappier than its successors that shall come after it; it being observed, that meetings of this nature, before or after this time, never produced any great matter on persons present thereat, who generally carry away the same judgment they brought with them."[3]

The parties met at the Binnenhof at the Hague on October 15th, 1609, at eight o'clock in the morning. Van Hille presented a document from the Classis,

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 60; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 22, 23; Trigland, p. 495.

[2] See Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 19; Trigland, pp. 497–8; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 327.

[3] *Church History*, III, 68.

but refused to plead, saying that the Classis was answerable to the Church Courts alone. Venator challenged this and brought a counter charge of heterodoxy against van Hille.[1] In the end Alkmaar was ordered to restore the five preachers, or other methods would be used after ten days. Such threatenings of persecution roused the fervour of Amsterdam and other orthodox centres. Enkhuizen sent a fiery cross to the Classes to oppose what was considered to be a definite attack of the States Advocate on the liberties of the Church. The Synod Deputies renewed their appeal to the States for a Provincial Synod, asking that the time and place of meeting might be named; the reply was that the Synod would have been called already if Alkmaar had obeyed orders (December 1609).[2] The election of new magistrates for the town on January 1st, 1610, was the occasion of riots and general disorder.[3] There were rumours that the States were sending troops against the town. To the annoyance of Barnevelt many of the richest citizens who were supporters of the more liberal theological views were put out of office, and the Calvinist faction won the day. Many of the new magistrates were related to each other, which was considered to be an additional injustice. The disturbance was so great that the British Ambassador, Winwood, considered it worthy of mention in his despatches. Representations were immediately made to the Hague of these disorderly proceedings, and a commission of five was sent to Alkmaar to make a special investigation.[4] It was an important deputation, and included van der Does, the Laird of Noordwyck, Hogerbeets and Barnevelt's son-in-law, Veenhuisen. They arrived on January 5th, and on January 11th decided that the 1610 Council was to be increased from 24 to 31 by the inclusion of some of the richest burghers whom the deputies would choose. In future, also,

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 331; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 60, 61.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 64, 65; Trigland, pp. 499, 500.
[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 65; Trigland, p. 503; *Joh. Wten.*, II, 58.
[4] Trigland, p. 504; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 58, 59.

relatives within the third degree were not to be on the same Council. This order was laid before the Town Council on January 14th and rejected by 14 votes to 11.[1] The magistrates appealed to the Hague for support, but received no encouragement from Barnevelt, who urged the deputies to proceed. On February 11th Alkmaar representatives made their appearance in a full assembly of the States of Holland, and appealed against the findings of the Commission. Prince Maurice was away at Utrecht grappling with the alarming rising that had broken out there. Barnevelt declared that it would be a good thing if the documents on both sides were thrown into the fire. Two days later the States decided that the plans of the Commission must be carried out.[2] The majority of the Alkmaar Council consented on February 17th, and gave orders to the civil guard to be disbanded as they had now been under arms for several weeks in expectation of a conflict. The guard hesitated to obey these orders, Hogerbeets and Veenhuisen went to the Hague for new powers, and at last on February 22nd the Commission met the full Council and declared it dissolved and freed from the oaths of office. For the new Council a double list was presented, and half of these were chosen by the Commission, giving the supporters of Venator a majority. Needless to say, he was restored to his office ; also one of the old preachers, Peter Cornelisz, was retired. Peace, however, was not secured by these measures, for the Classis maintained its sturdy opposition, although the States had laid it down that the preachers must not speak against the *Catechism* and the *Confession*.[3] A quarrel soon arose over the election of a new Church Consistory. The magistrates wished to have an ecclesiastical court which reflected their own perfect neutrality. On May 18th, 1610, they decided that the old Consistory was dissolved, and that the next day Venator and

[1] Trigland, pp. 504, 505.

[2] Ibid., p. 508.

[3] Trigland, pp. 509–12 ; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 87 ; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 65, 66 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 59, 60.

Hillenius should present to the Church members a list of thirty-two persons each, from whom the members were to chose sixteen to form the new Consistory.[1] Hillenius declared that such a proceeding was contrary to Church Orders, while Venator was prepared to produce Scripture in defence of it.[2]

There was no uniformity of practice in this matter in the Presbyterianism of those days. At Geneva the magistrates chose the Consistory on the advice of the clergy; at Amsterdam the old Consistory chose the new; Leiden made a selection from a list presented by the old Consistory. The oligarchical procedure of Amsterdam was more in keeping with the methods of the seventeenth century in the United Provinces than the democratic scheme of Venator. The Consistory was appointed, but van Hille refused to recognize it, though on July 10th he received an order to attend it from the Council. The following week the Classis decided that the new Consistory was illegal and that the Classis should in future meet at Schagen, which lay a dozen miles to the north of Alkmaar.[3] Venator was present at this meeting, and annoyed the opposite party still further by bringing an elder with him to the meeting of the Classis, contrary to custom. The magistrates were not prepared to tolerate this opposition, and summoned Hillenius to appear before a full meeting of the Council. They asked him whether the Classis had decided to leave Alkmaar and whether its minute-books had already been taken out of the town. He affirmed that Venator had used abusive words, and that the minutes were best preserved at the place where the next meeting was to be held. They further asked if they were the legal magistrates of Alkmaar. Hillenius replied that that was a political matter. Was the Consistory legal then? He had already given his answer to that question. It was decided that he was to leave the town within fourteen days; his wife and family were allowed to remain six

[1] Trigland, p. 512.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 66; Trigland, p. 512.
[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 60.

or eight weeks. He removed to Koedijk, and 300 of his congregation continued to hear him there. The States confirmed the decision of the magistrates forbidding him to enter Alkmaar, and at a later date forbade him to exercise his ministry at Koedijk also. He was fined more than once for disobedience, moved to Amsterdam, and was eventually called to a Church at Groningen.[1]

The Alkmaar troubles are given in detail because they bring out clearly all the elements in the controversy. The Calvinists' strength lay in their dogmatism, their insistence on the self-government of the Church and the support they received from the populace. The Arminians had the support of the politicians and the prosperous burgher classes, and represented the more liberal elements in theology which had the promise of the future with them. The significance of Alkmaar, too, arises from the fact that it marks the real beginning of schism in the Reformed Church of the United Provinces. The States might decide (December 22nd, 1610) that Hillenius was not to act as an Alkmaar minister either inside or outside the town,[2] and forbid visiting preachers to help the schismatical congregation at Koedijk; the fact remains that a new Church was soon raised in Alkmaar itself for those who could not stomach Venator, and a real division in the Church had begun.[3] Naturally Hillenius was regarded by Plancius and his Amsterdam supporters, indeed by the High Calvinist party generally, as a martyr,[4] and such expulsions did not help the general cause of peace. Nor did Venator pursue any more pacific course. He published a narrative of the happenings at Alkmaar, in which he declared that the Scriptures and the Apostles' Creed were the only necessary standards of doctrine. He seemed to talk like a Socinian to his opponents, because

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 67, 114; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 61–5; Trigland, p. 517.
[2] Ibid., p. 517.
[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 65, 87.
[4] *Brieven*, 105; Borrius to Joh. Wten., August 29th, 1610.

he always spoke of the Saviour as Jesus or Jesus of Nazareth, and affirmed that "Jesus came into the world as a mirror of true obedience, a heavenly preacher of God's mercy."[1] We find it difficult to appreciate the horror such remarks evoked in 1610, but we were not brought up on the *Institutes* of Calvin. It is, however, not very long ago since the publication of *Ecce Homo* produced a declaration from most influential quarters in Evangelical Christianity that it was "the most pestilential book ever vomited forth from the jaws of hell." We need not be surprised to find that the call of new Arminian preachers to Alkmaar met with opposition. Young Simon Episcopius was wise enough to refuse an invitation to preach there while the dispute between the Classis and the Council over the new Consistory was raging.[2] When two elders of the Alkmaar Church applied to the Amsterdam Classis for the release of Nicolaus Bodecherus they were told they were no elders, so the schism was indeed a reality. In the end the Arminians secured two new preachers and had gained a nominal victory, but the price of it was too high. Even these preachers were only secured because they had defied the local courts out of which they moved.[3]

The contentions at Alkmaar have taken us ahead of the main story. The truce with Spain marked the opening of a period of theological and political pamphleteering which increased in bitterness and intensity until the Synod of Dort, in spite of all attempts by the States to check it. Before the death of Arminius his defence had provoked several violent attacks, while his friend J. C. Corvinus endeavoured to pour oil on troubled waters by an anonymous publication entitled, *Christian and Earnest Warnings for Peace.* To the orthodox this was a mere crying out of "Peace, Peace," when there could not be peace, and both Gomarus and Donteclock hewed this new Agag in pieces before the Lord. The

[1] Trigland, pp. 515, 516.
[2] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S. Epis.*, p. 18.
[3] Trigland, pp. 517, 518.

Warning of Gomarus was all the more bitter because he suspected that Wtenbogaert was the anonymous author.[1] The funeral oration of Bertius over Arminius soon gave him another subject for *Reflections*. The friends of the dead theologian were moved to indignation by this untimely effort, which Corvinus declared to be the product of pique; Gomarus could not bear to see the oration of Bertius have so good a reception from so large an audience.[2] Bertius himself was not content with a mere defence, he proceeded to carry the war into the enemy's country. "Almighty God, who hast sworn 'As I live, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked,'" he prayed, "give me strength to impress on Thy young men to extirpate such a godless predestination as is introduced against Thy Holy Word, and is preached against Thy honour, to the offence of Thy flock and the detriment of Thy Holy Name." This was a very provocative utterance from the regent of the Theological College, but Bertius was to add to his offences during the year 1610 by attacking unconditional election, and in the end he was destined to prove his fundamental unsoundness by going over to the Church of Rome.

The most important publication of these months, however, was a treatise by Wtenbogaert on the subject of the Authority of Magistrates in the Church.[3] It immediately aroused widespread interest, and soon passed into a second edition. Wtenbogaert was now the acknowledged leader of the liberal party in the Reformed Church; he was fifty-three years of age and very influential in political circles, but this was his first appearance in the field of literature. The treatise itself was an expansion of a speech made by the author to the States of Holland in the summer of 1609. He had then

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, I, 371–5, II, 10; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 68.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 15; cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 134.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 69; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 23; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 27–35. Published at the Hague in February 1610, with the title, *Tractaet van 't ampt ende author. eener hoogher Christ. overheydt in kerck. Saecken.*

argued that Christian rulers must give more attention to the state of the Church, and must put an end to the clash of jurisdiction.[1] He now proceeded to expound his meaning in detail. There were, he said, three possibilities in the relations between Church and State: (1) The Church might rule the State according to the Roman theory. This might achieve unity, but it was mere tyranny of fire and sword. No one desired the return of the Inquisition. (2) The popular theory was that the authorities of Church and State were equal and collateral, operating within their own spheres. The magistrates gave their protection to the Church, but received no sort of reckoning in return. The trouble about this theory was that it would not work; the result was constant discord and strife. There could only be one ultimate authority in the State. Therefore nothing remained but (3) the full authority of the State over the Church. The States Assembly of each province must have control over worship, preaching, the administration of the sacraments and the care of the poor. They must determine the time and place of meeting for Church assemblies, even though they permitted ecclesiastical persons to preside over them. They must also be the final referees in the appointments of preachers, elders and deacons within their area. This thoroughgoing Erastianism will find little support from modern churchmen, but it was a natural product of the century of the Wars of Religion. The ablest politicians saw clearly that if States were to present a united front to their enemies they must be masters in their own household. The book exactly expressed the views of Holland's great statesman, John of Oldenbarnevelt. James I declared that it deserved an English edition; Francis van Aerssen, the States' Ambassador at Paris, wished for a translation into French.[2] At a later date this approval of Wtenbogaert's book by a great opponent of the Remonstrance had to be explained away. He did not understand the situation in Holland, they said. He

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 56–60.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 138; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 31.

soon discovered that the minister to the Reformed congregation in Paris, du Moulin, did not share his views and he deemed it prudent to inform Wtenbogaert that he would not be able to translate the book himself.[1] Along with the chorus of approval came a series of replies which the States endeavoured to silence, forbidding Wtenbogaert also to reply to them. The Calvinists had been placed in a dilemma by the publication of the *Tractaet*, since they had no wish to force a quarrel with the political leaders. The ablest exponent of their views was Antoine van Wale (Walaeus) of Middelburg, while the most popular line was the comparison between the contrasted views of Wtenbogaert in 1590 and 1610.[2] An anonymous pamphlet, *On the Calling of Christian Ministers. Yea and Nay by John Wtenbogaert*, put this cleverly enough, and had a large circulation. The author was Festus Hommius of Leiden,[3] whose steady opposition to Arminius we have encountered before; we shall find him taking an important share in the proceedings of the Synod of Dort and in the events that followed. Wtenbogaert did not deny his change of opinion, but complained of the methods used by Hommius and Acronius of Schiedam to attack not only his views but his character. Another favourite charge against him was that he was merely the mouthpiece for Barnevelt, who had probably written his book for him.

The other notable Arminian publication of 1610 was the *Hymenæus Desertor* of Bertius, which appeared in the month of August. It was dedicated to the ministers of the Gospel throughout Europe, and discussed two problems concerning the Fall of the Saints. The first was, Can the righteous man lose his righteousness ?, and the second question which necessarily followed when the first was answered affirmatively was, Could the original righteousness have been genuine ?[4] The book

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 139; Trigland, p. 488.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 447; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 32–5; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 24.

[3] *Brieven Wten.*, I ,CX, and note 1.

[4] *Hymenæus Desertor sive de sanctorum apostasia problemata duo*, P—1, B—ii; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 25; Trigland, p. 498.

was a vigorous attack on the notion of the unconditional election of believers by which it was impossible for them to fall from grace. The High Calvinist position was shown to be an innovation, and a wealth of quotations from the Fathers was displayed to support this contention. Bertius, Venator, Vorstius and Grevinchoven were controversialists of a much more vigorous type than the cautious and judicious Arminius. Even some of the friends of the dead leader felt that the very title of this book was too challenging. Episcopius said to Corvinus that Bertius and Grevinchovius were accurate enough, but a little too keen.[1] Bertius was so ill advised as to send a copy of his book to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbott was the last man in England to be won over by these arguments. "Had you been advised by me," said Casaubon to Bertius in a letter from London in 1611, "you would never have sent your book to that prelate. He is a very religious man, but of the opposite opinion."[2] We have no record of the Archbishop's reply to this present, but we can imagine what it might have been from the words of his royal master on the general apostacy of Leiden University in 1612. "One Bertius, a scholar of Arminius," said King James I, "was so impudent as to send a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, *de Apostasia Sanctorum*. The title whereof only were enough to make it worthy of the fire." The shameless fellow had even tried to show that his doctrines agreed with those of the Church of England. Whereupon, continued His Majesty, we deem it to be "high time for us to bestir ourselves."[3] From the height of the royal indignation we may deduce the feelings of Plancius, Gomarus and other orthodox leaders who were nearer to the source of contagion. James I was more zealous for the theology of the followers of Calvin than for

[1] Cf. *Brieven Wten.*, I, XCI; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 136.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 170.

[3] *His Majestyes Declaration concerning His Proceedings with the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries*, etc. (Barker, 1612), pp. 15, 16.

the defence of their political existence. The United Provinces found their British ally but a broken reed, and were compelled to look for their chief support on the Continent to Henry of Navarre, who put his rivalry with Spain above his Roman Catholicism.

At the moment support was urgently needed by the States-General. The truce with Spain had been threatened by the death of John William, Duke of Jülich-Cleve, in March 1609. The absence of direct heirs and the claim of both Protestant and Roman princes to the succession renewed the prospect of "religious" strife and eventually led to the terrible Thirty Years' War.[1] Cleve was the gateway to the United Provinces from the Continent, and it was therefore one of the key positions in the strife between Protestant and Catholic. Prince Maurice was prepared to renew the war rather than see Cleve held by representatives either of the Emperor or the King of Spain. In this resolve he had the full support both of the people and the oligarchic leaders. The two German princes who were the likeliest claimants to the succession were both Protestants, but they were both admirable illustrations of the futility that marked the whole political action of their countrymen in this period. While they quarrelled the Habsburgs acted, and Jülich woke up one morning to find itself in the possession of Bishop Archduke Leopold, the brother of the Emperor Rudolf II.[2] The army of the States was mustered and Barnevelt sent important missions to Paris and London, in which he was represented by his brother Elias in the latter deputation and by his son-in-law, van der Myle, in the former.[3] It was to Paris that the chief projects of the States were entrusted, for James I was but an uncertain ally, while Henry IV was evolving an ambitious scheme by which the influence of Spain and the Habsburgs in North-Western Europe was to be for ever terminated. We shall never know how much of ambition, or mere passion or

[1] See Motley, *John of Barneveld*, I, 61.
[2] *Life and Death of John of Barneveld*, I, 65.
[3] *John of Barneveld*, I, 178–218; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 38.

real statesmanship contributed to this great project, for Henry was assassinated before the first move was made. The Dutch deputation to Paris, which included Wtenbogaert, left the Hague on April 8th, 1610, and reached Amiens on April 17th, where they were met by the coaches of van Aerssen from the capital.[1] We are not concerned with their negotiations with the King, nor the magnificence of their reception, but with the relations between Wtenbogaert and the French Protestants. The most famous Protestant in France was the great scholar, Isaac Casaubon, who was now librarian to Henry IV. This claim may be made even when we remember the great names of du Plessis Mornay and Sully. Casaubon was the son of a minister of the Reformed Church and a member of the Huguenot congregation at Charenton, of which the minister from 1599 to 1621 was Peter du Moulin. There was little real concord between the great scholar and his minister, and Casaubon found a more suitable spiritual home in the English Church after the assassination of his master had made him an exile once more. Wtenbogaert had important conversations during these days, both with du Moulin and Casaubon. He tried to make the minister see that there were two sides to the religious controversy in the United Provinces, but with little success; du Moulin was too much attached to the school of Gomarus to find any good in the Arminian Nazareth.[2] He found a better reception with Casaubon, who had been a fellow student with him under Beza at Geneva. Casaubon was weary not only with the dogmas of the High Calvinists, but with the lack of order and seemliness in their worship. Calvin's dogmatism, he said, was the death of all devotion. The Papists were not without hope that they would win this great scholar over to their side as they had already secured Lipsius, and were to capture Bertius presently. In theology Wtenbogaert found that Casaubon was much of his opinion. The extreme view of Predestination

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 39; *John of Barneveld*, I, 194.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 40, 41.

made God the author of sin ; Calvin had made Augustine say more than he ever did of free will ; in the interests of union a new emphasis must be laid on fundamentals in religion.[1] Later on in the same year we find that Casaubon says in his letters he does not doubt that Arminius was a great man, " though those of our pastors for whom the opinion of Calvin is the norm of truth, find him a wicked heretic." From London in October he writes to Heinsius at Leiden, approving the mediating position of Melanchthon and the English Church. Du Moulin, he declares, was not ashamed to call Cyprian an Anabaptist.[2] It is surely of some significance that so sane and scholarly a mind with its regard for antiquity and its balanced judgment in a perpetual quest of truth should so heartily approve the attitude of the Arminians.

The mission left Paris on May 8th and reached the Hague on the 16th. Two days before their arrival the French King had fallen by the dagger of Ravaillac, and the hopes of the great alliance between the States and France were frustrated. It seemed a fatal blow to the safety of the United Provinces, but Prince Maurice faced the dangerous situation with unfaltering courage. If France and England failed them, the States were prepared to act alone. Maurice left the Hague for the scene of action in the middle of July, and by September 1st he had captured Jülich and put the Protestant princes in possession of the duchy.[3] He was accompanied by his chaplain Wtenbogaert, who was much impressed by the strength of Calvinism among the soldiers. His colleague was Abraham Scultetus, the court chaplain of Frederick V of the Palatinate, with whom he had long conversations in which the theological troubles prevailed over the political.[4]

Wtenbogaert was, however, to discover throughout

[1] Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, pp. 224, 225 ; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 72 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 43 ; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 143. Brandt omits Casaubon's preference for Episcopacy.

[2] Pattison, op. cit., p. 404 ; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 142, 143.

[3] *John of Barneveld*, pp. 254, 255 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 50.

[4] Ibid., II, 52.

his career that it was impossible to make a clear line of demarcation between the theological and political spheres. He now found a new illustration of that truth in the affairs of his native city of Utrecht. That city had been the prey of factions ever since the days of Leicester; not only was there a strong moderate party there, but there were also many who were more than half inclined to appeal for help to Spain. The real causes of the rising of April 1610 are by no means clear. The ambition of burgomaster Dirk Canter, and popular dislike of a hearth tax levied in 1606, may have counted for most. There was, at any rate, a dangerous rising, in which Canter seized the city. He was a man of no principles, who had supported all parties in turn, and now professed to be a democratic leader. The Romanists thought it was a revolt for their deliverance, the Calvinists imagined that the Arminians had seized the city; the latter soon discovered that Canter was introducing a tyranny compared with which that of Alva was holy and mild.[1] Maurice sent a commission of inquiry, and it seemed as though the Cleve expedition would be frustrated by this new complication. The Cleve expedition, however, went forward and Canter was left in power at Utrecht until the April of the next year, when he capitulated to the troops of Frederick Henry of Nassau, the younger brother of Prince Maurice. He was sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted to exile, and on May 7th, 1611, he and his lieutenant Helsdingen were driven out of the city.[2] It was to this scene of turmoil that Wtenbogaert was sent at the beginning of November 1610. There was no man in the counsels of the Government who was so influential there, and he was loaned to the city until Christmas. He seems to have stayed at the house of his brother's widow, and began his ministry by a long letter to the Christian community and citizenship of Utrecht cast in Pauline phraseology, in which he reminds them of

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, XCV, Jac. Taurinus of Utrecht writes. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 130–34.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 91–3; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 132.

his twenty-five years' service in his native place, declares that he is sent in the cause of peace and refutes the libels that have recently been uttered against him.[1] Most of the ministers sympathized with his position, and J. Taurinus and I. Speenhoven were among his special friends. The recent death of Everhard Boot had been a great loss to the Arminian cause. The leader of the opposite party was C. van Dongen, the minister of Jutphaas, three miles from the city. The civil disturbances had been the excuse for a marked decline in attendance at public worship ; also there were church members who refused to communicate because of novelties in the teaching of the ministers. Wtenbogaert brought the two parties together and persuaded van Dongen to speak against this practice. Taurinus pleaded that Wtenbogaert might remain in the city a little longer, and his term was extended into the new year. He preached in the cathedral to great crowds on December 30th and January 1st, and it was clear that his old influence was not weakened in spite of caricatures of him set up in the city. In fact Utrecht renewed its call to him to return as its permanent pastor, but the Hague refused to release him. His enemies declared that he aimed at being the new Bishop of Utrecht. He left the city at the close of May 1611.[2] We shall find him back again during the following year in the interests of a *via media*, by which the two parties in the Reformed Church might permanently live together in peace and harmony. He was working at this scheme as early as July 1611, and writes to Vorstius for any books that will help him in fashioning a new ecclesiastical constitution.[3] His labour met with a real success, for the constitution was accepted at a meeting of all the preachers of the province held on August 28th, 1612. The meeting was held in St. Catherine's Convent in the presence of the burgomasters and the representatives of the States and the nobles.

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, CX, afterwards preface to reply to *Ja en Neen* ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 136 and 138.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 137–41.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 165.

Wtenbogaert was asked to lead the debate, but declined, and the Synod was presided over by Speenhoven. The report was spread that the Court Chaplain had left his own province to preside over another Synod, and it increased the Calvinist dislike for his arrogance.[1] By this model Church Order the call of ministers was in the hands of a Committee of eight persons, half of whom represented the Church Consistory, and the other half, being members of the Reformed Church, the two magistrates. The names were then to be presented for approval to the Town Council and the Consistory. The final referee in cases of dispute was to be the States-General. Pulpit teaching was to avoid minor differences and to be in accordance with the Apostles' Creed and the *Belgic Confession* understood in a scriptural sense. Where the *Heidelberg Catechism* had been expounded on Sunday afternoons, the practice was to be continued but the teaching should be based more on the Scriptures. In worship suitable hymns as well as Psalms should be used.[2] As a matter of fact, the first hymn-book in the Dutch Reformed Church was issued at Utrecht in 1615. The Synod concluded with an earnest plea for peace in a sermon by Wtenbogaert on Ephes. iv, 1–6. The loyalty of the Calvinists to this compromise gave peace to the old diocese of Utrecht until the Synod of Dort expelled the Remonstrants from the Churches. Van Dongen did not accept the arrangement, and departed to Zaandam, returning to Utrecht in 1619. It is vain to express the regret that other Provinces did not follow this example; the temper of Zeeland, of Groningen, of Amsterdam, of Dordrecht was far otherwise.

How impossible it was that any real compromise could be achieved may be seen from the public declarations of and conferences between the leaders of both parties during these eventful years. To secure a continuous narrative we must retrace our steps to the beginning of the year 1610. A meeting of the preachers

[1] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 89; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 146; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 100.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 101–3; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II. 147, 148.

in the Reformed Church who sympathized with the views of Arminius was called privately by Wtenbogaert, and was held at Gouda on January 14th. All those known to us were present with the exception of Venator, and the two Lansbergens (father and son) from Rotterdam; the number present was forty-three,[1] increased to forty-six afterwards by the arrival of three preachers from Utrecht. The result of this gathering was the production of the famous Remonstrance to the States-General, in which the five offensive points in Calvinism were pilloried, and the Arminians gave a reasoned Apologia for their attitude. As the National Synod had not yet met in which they could remove the suspicions and charges against them, they wished to declare that they desired no alterations in religion, but only that the order of the States for the Revision of the *Catechism* and the *Confession* should be carried out. It must be understood that the formularies of the Church were subject to correction, and that members of the Church might make reflections on them and try them by the Word of God. Some professed to find in the *Catechism* and the *Belgic Confession* certain points which seemed to them to be a new theology altogether. The five points of this new theology were as follows:

1. That God (as some asserted) had ordered by an eternal and irreversible decree, some from among men (whom He did not consider as created; much less as fallen) to everlasting life; and some (who were by far the greater part) to everlasting perdition without any regard to their obedience or disobedience, in order to exert both His justice and mercy; having so disposed the means, that those whom He had appointed to salvation should be necessarily and unavoidably saved, and the rest necessarily and unavoidably damned.

2. That God (as others taught) had considered mankind not only as created but as fallen in Adam, and consequently as liable to the curse; from which fall and destruction He had determined to release some,

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 21, 22; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 74; Trigland, p. 536.

and to save them as instances of His mercy ; and to leave others, even children of the Covenant, under the curse as examples of His justice, without any regard to belief or unbelief. To which end God also made use of means whereby the elect were necessarily saved and the reprobate were necessarily damned.

3. That, consequently, Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World did not die for all men, but only for those who were elected according to the first or second manner.

4. That therefore the Spirit of God and Christ wrought in the elect by an irresistible force in order to make them believe and be saved, but that necessary and sufficient grace was not given to the reprobate.

5. That they who had once received a true faith could never lose it wholly or finally.

It will be seen that the Arminians objected to (1) the supralapsarian decree, (2) the sublapsarian decree, (3) the idea that Christ died for the elect only, (4) the belief in Irresistible Grace, (5) the notion that the saints could not fall from grace.[1] Then they proceeded to expound their own views on these vital subjects in five intelligible propositions, so that the lay mind might make its choice between them and their opponents. The five points of the Arminian belief were as follows :

1. That God, by an eternal and unchangeable decree in Christ before the world was, determined to elect from the fallen and sinning human race to everlasting life those who through His grace believe in Jesus Christ and persevere in faith and obedience ; and, on the contrary, had resolved to reject the unconverted and unbelievers to everlasting damnation (John iii, 36).

2. That, in consequence of this, Christ the Saviour of the world died for all and every man, so that He obtained, by the death on the cross, reconciliation and pardon for sin for all men ; in such manner, however,

[1] The *Remonstrance* is given verbatim in Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 26–8. In the text the accurate but slightly condensed statement of Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 74–75, is largely followed. See also Trigland, pp. 522–35 ; Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S. Episcopii*, p. 35 ; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 145.

that none but the faithful actually enjoyed the same (John iii, 16; 1 John ii, 2).

3. That man could not obtain saving faith of himself or by the strength of his own free will, but stood in need of God's grace through Christ to be renewed in thought and will (John xv, 5).

4. That this grace was the cause of the beginning, progress and completion of man's salvation; insomuch that none could believe nor persevere in faith without this co-operating grace, and consequently that all good works must be ascribed to the grace of God in Christ. As to the manner of the operation of that grace, however, it is not irresistible (Acts vii, 51).

5. That true believers had sufficient strength through the Divine grace to fight against Satan, sin, the world, their own flesh, and get the victory over them; but whether by negligence they might not apostatize from the true Faith, lose the happiness of a good conscience and forfeit that grace needed to be more fully inquired into according to Holy Writ before they proceeded to teach it.

Such was this statement of belief on the disputed points. It will be observed that they left the question of the possibility of believers falling from grace open; but they soon made up their minds on this subject, and declared without equivocation that true believers might fall away from God by their own fault and lose faith wholly and finally.[1]

This able document was unsigned, and has been attributed to Grotius and to Episcopius; but it was undoubtedly the work of Wtenbogaert.[2] His book on Authority, which appeared shortly after this meeting, has sometimes been called the sixth point of Arminianism. Grotius and Episcopius were intellectually the most brilliantly gifted members of this group, but neither had at that time the influence that Wtenbogaert possessed, and the former was not present at Gouda. It was Wtenbogaert who had called the Conference; he must

[1] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 28–30; Trigland, pp. 526–35.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 24; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 76.

have drawn up the original draft, and minor alterations would be made in committee. The Remonstrance was not published at once, but handed over to Barnevelt, who kept it in his possession six months before introducing it to a meeting of the States of Holland.[1] In the interval the urgent question of the Jülich-Cleve succession dominated the scene, but when Wtenbogaert returned from Paris he was welcomed back by the States Advocate, who told him that the Remonstrance might now be made public. Barnevelt introduced it to the States in July 1610, and on August 22nd the States passed the following important resolution: "That preachers of the opinions expressed in this Remonstrance being in the actual ministry should be free from the censure of other preachers, and that in the examination of new ministers, following the Church's custom, men should not proceed further than the five articles (especially on the subject of predestination.)"[2] The terms of this resolution are not entirely unambiguous, but it is clear that the States wished to avoid any schism by making it possible for Calvinist and Arminian to live together in the same ministry. This resolution was sent round to the various Classes and provoked an outburst of indignation. The States had come to a decision on an ecclesiastical subject without calling a Synod; they had, moreover, refused to hear the other side in the controversy, and as for this precious unsigned Remonstrance no one could get a copy of it for love or money.[3] This was not the only quarrel the Classes had with the States. It had been suggested that the long-expected Provincial Synod might now be summoned, but that representatives should be delegated by the States who were capable of choosing the best men in the ministry. Amsterdam led so vigorously in the protest against this proposal that the Provincial Synod had to be once more postponed.[4]

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 26.

[2] Trigland, p. 536; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 42, 44–5, 67; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 37; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

[3] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 30; Trigland, p. 536; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 43, 44; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 76, 77.

The Classes had won the battle against the threat of losing their right to be represented directly in a Synod, and now they were to be limited in their powers of admission to the ministry and expulsion from it, on the ground of heresy. At the moment, the Church at Benthuizen, near Leiden, had invited a Leiden student as its minister, and Rijngaterwoude, near Woerden, had invited Theodore Swann. The approval of the respective Classes of Leiden and Woerden was necessary, and the candidates were to be examined in the Classis by their seniors in the ministry. The resolution of the State was read in the Woerden Classis on August 24th, and in the Leiden Classis on September 23rd. Borrius wrote to Wtenbogaert rejoicing in this new birth of liberty; but he spoke too soon.[1] When the examination took place in the Leiden Classis, on October 6th, the States' resolution was ignored. The candidate was asked whether Adam fell because God willed it, and whether the elect could possibly miss eternal life, though they were thieves and murderers. These questions aroused the Arminians to protest, and seven of them proceeded to the Hague the next day to petition the States to depute two persons of note to preside at these assemblies.[2] Another meeting of the Leiden Classis was held on November 2nd, and was more turbulent. The States' lawyers were present, and asked the members of the Classis whether they were prepared to obey the orders of the States or not. "In the Classis," says Borrius to Episcopius, "we had Festus Hommius from 12 o'clock to 6.30. The tolerance of the States' deputies was wonderful. . . . Although I knew him I would never have suspected him of such irreverence against the magistrates."[3] Patience gave way at last, and Festus was informed that he had no right to monopolize the discussion, as other brethren were endowed with the Spirit of Christ as well as he. A vote was taken, eleven members of the Classis supporting the

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, CV; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 67; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 38.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 78, 79; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 67.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.* No. 157; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 68.

States' resolution in general, four voting against, while two declared that they could tolerate those already in the ministry who held by the Remonstrance, but would admit no new candidates of that colour. Festus Hommius presented his case in writing the next day and declared, among other home truths, that he refused to be ruled by impertinent and ambiguous articles which were contrary to the Word of God.[1] On November 10th two of the States' representatives who had been at Leiden, magistrates of Haarlem and Amsterdam respectively, were present at the examination of Theodore Swann in the Woerden Classis. Only one member opposed them, but it was decided that Swann should sign the *Belgic Confession* and the *Heidelberg Catechism*. The commissioners objected, and it was found from the minutes that this was an innovation. In the end he signed the *Confession* as a formula of unity.[2] These proceedings alarmed Plancius and his friends exceedingly. The Amsterdam prophet, with five other deputies of the North and South Holland Synods, drew up a vigorous statement against the Remonstrance, showing that the five articles were not only contrary to the *Confession*, but contrary to the Word of God. They demanded that the articles should be examined at a Provincial Synod. The States passed a resolution in reply on December 23rd, 1610, that there should be a "friendly conference" of six from each party to meet at the Hague in March of the following year to discuss the whole situation. Plancius and Wtenbogaert were asked to send in by March 1st the names of their respective colleagues.[3]

There was no doubt now that the division of parties was clear cut, and henceforward they bore the name of Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants. It is idle to attempt to fix the blame for the first forming of a

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 79–91; Trigland, pp. 542, 543.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 81, 82.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 93, 94; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 71; Trigland, pp. 543–52; *Brieven Wten.*, III; *Epist. Præt. Vir.*, No. 158; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

party, as the schism appeared to be inevitable. The Remonstrants claimed that their action was due to their need of protection from the danger of a new Inquisition, and that their Remonstrance was similar to the Petition of the Netherlands to the Duchess of Parma in 1566. Their opponents declared that " they had met privately, their own Churches not having been consulted, and the permission of the supreme magistrate not having been obtained ; thereupon they had entered into a confederacy or conspiracy by a subscription of names and formed themselves into a *body* separate from the rest of their fellow pastors, instituting a manifest schism in the Reformed Churches."[1] The fact remains that the attitude of both schools was hardening, and the possibility of ultimate co-operation becoming increasingly improbable. We may understand something of the difficulties of preachers with Arminian sympathies by the consideration of the case of Episcopius, who about this time received a call to be the minister of the Church at Bleiswijk, near Rotterdam. There was probably no more brilliantly gifted man among the younger ministers of the Dutch Church than Simon Bisschop, to give him his baptismal name. Any Church might have been proud of such a pastor, yet every possible obstacle was put in the way of his appointment by the Calvinist party. Born in 1583 at Amsterdam, he was trained at Leiden University as the alumnus of his native city, as Arminius had been before him. He became the favourite student of Arminius, and at the close of his college career in 1608 received a call to the Church of Gouda ; but the Amsterdam ministers opposed it, and he went to Franeker University to study Hebrew under Drusius. While there he was drawn into controversy with that pillar of Calvinist orthodoxy, Professor Sibrandus Lubbertus, who is declared by Limborch to have plotted to secure the expulsion of Episcopius from the University, and then to keep him out of the ministry.[2] On his return to Amsterdam in 1610 he received many small

[1] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; cf. Trigland, pp. 537–41.
[2] See Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S. E.*, pp. 1-18.

annoyances in the Church; the meaning of these appeared when he was called by the Rotterdam Classis to the Church at Bleiswijk. The procedure in the case of this call is of interest in itself, and of importance as explaining the constant friction then arising between the jurisdictions of Church and State. Episcopius preached first before the magistrates, who unanimously agreed to the call, and then before the congregation, which confirmed the decision of the magistrates. It was then the business of the Rotterdam Classis to approach the Amsterdam Classis for the transference of the new preacher. Here the resolution on the subject was opposed by Ruardus Acronius of Schiedam, but confirmed by the majority. There was opposition also in the Amsterdam Church; but the Rotterdam magistrates secured the approval of the magistrates of Amsterdam. The real battle was fought over the examination of Episcopius by the Rotterdam Classis on September 27th, 1610, when Acronius demanded the testimonials of the new preacher. None were forthcoming from Amsterdam by collusion between Acronius and Plancius, but those from Leiden and Franeker Universities were satisfactory. The Calvinists objected to admit a deputation from the Rotterdam magistrates, which included Elias Oldenbarnevelt, who was the pensionary of the city. They were kept waiting for two hours, but at last insisted on entering, whereupon five of the ministers got up to leave, and did so after the exchange of hot words with the secular authorities. The objectors retired to an hotel and were met by Festus Hommius of Leiden, and agreed to ask for a new examination after a fortnight's delay and the removal of the Classis from Rotterdam; in return for this they would permit the presence of two magistrates, well-known Calvinists being nominated. In the meantime Episcopius met the charges which Plancius had circulated against him, and preached to the Classis on Phil. ii, 12–13. It was now evening, and further examination was postponed until the next day, when they decided to proceed with the call in spite of the absence of the Amsterdam testi-

monials. The confirmation of the Classis was now unanimous, and Episcopius began his ministry on October 17th, 1610. He was admitted a member of the Classis in the new year, whereupon Acronius took his departure, and, following in the footsteps of Alkmaar, Rotterdam had every promise of a new schism.[1] Such a picture of local discord will explain why there could be but little confidence in any successful issue to the forthcoming Hague Conference. Even the politicians began to discover that the problem was more obstinate and dangerous than they had anticipated. However, the preparations for the Conference went forward. Wtenbogaert summoned, as his colleagues, Ed. Poppius of Gouda, Grevinchoven of Rotterdam, Borrius and J. A. Corvinus from Leiden, and Episcopius. The Contra-Remonstrants endeavoured to give their six the authority of Synod delegates. This could not be done directly as the Synods were not allowed to meet, but the Classes were invited each to send a representative to Amsterdam on February 23rd. Seventeen preachers went there under the presidency of Plancius, and decided that their delegates should be Plancius, Festus Hommius, R. Acronius, who had all been prominent in recent controversy, along with J. Becius of Dordrecht, L. Fraxinus of Brielle and J. Bogardus of Leiden.[2] The aim of the Contra-Remonstrants was to force an official declaration against the Remonstrance, while the States wanted a friendly and unofficial exchange of views which would open the way to peace.

The Conference assembled at the Hague at 11 o'clock on Friday morning, March 11th, 1611. Owing to the illness of Barnevelt, the chair was taken by Joh. Berck, the pensionary of Dordrecht, who explained that they were there to examine together the five articles of the Remonstrance. He expressed the somewhat vain hope that the examination might be carried out with

[1] Limborch, op. cit., 19–31; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 82, 83; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 87; *Brieven Wten.*, CV.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 72–4; *Brieven Wten.*, CXVI, n. 4; Trigland, pp. 552, 553.

brevity and without passion. The session was spent in reading the Remonstrance and the formidable document which the Contra-Remonstrants had drawn up at Amsterdam in reply. There was no session in the afternoon.[1] The next morning Wtenbogaert gave a review of the growth of the controversy since 1597, and excited the irritation of Plancius against the "arts of rhetoricians." A copy of his speech was asked for so that the discussion could continue in writing. The Contra-Remonstrants also complained that the first article was disingenuous and asked many questions "to drag them out of their hiding-place," as Trigland expresses it.[2] Feeling ran very high, as the Remonstrants said that their opponents had declared their ability to prove the articles to be false and contrary to Scripture, and now they wanted them explained to help them in their attack. The Calvinist complaint was that the article was so worded that all Christians could accept it. When they said that "God had from all eternity decreed to save persevering believers" the Remonstrants had not made it clear that they regarded faith as a condition that preceded salvation.[3] The next session was held on the following Tuesday, and the Remonstrants insisted that Plancius and his colleagues should give up the idea that they were the official representatives of the Church. Wtenbogaert did not consider that he was acting against the Church and was up for trial. Yielding to pressure from the States' representatives, the representative idea of the assembly was given up, and Festus Hommius proceeded to give an historical survey in a Contra-Remonstrant sense. There was much wrangling as to procedure, but at last it was decided to proceed by way of written statements followed by discussion. There was one moment during the week

[1] *Brieven*, Wten. to Speenhoven, CXVI; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 75–80; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 39; Trigland, pp. 544–52 for Contra-Remonstrance. Also Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 93, 94.

[2] Trigland, p. 554; cf. *Brieven Wten.*, CXVI; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 82.

[3] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

when the interests of peace seemed operative, but when Saturday came and some of the preachers had gone off to their churches for the Sunday, Wtenbogaert learned from the president that there was a possibility of breaking off the Conference altogether.[1] The Calvinists would give no reply on the subject of sublapsarian or supralapsarian decrees, they were unwilling to go far with the subject of Reprobation, and they wanted to force the "horrible decrees" on their opponents. "You play with men's souls," said van den Borre to Festus Hommius, "as though they were codfish" —an apt simile for a Dutch fisher of souls, but not calculated to add to the amenities of discussion. Grevinchoven was equally warm. In the following week the States' representatives met at the house of Barnevelt and decided to break off the Conference until a fortnight after Easter.[2] In the latter stages of the Conference the appointment of Vorstius to Leiden University was the chief subject of interest in ecclesiastical circles, and the new professor was present at several sessions.[3] As the States' Advocate had made a good recovery, he was present at eight sessions between May 11th and May 20th, when the five articles were discussed in an orderly manner without any progress being made. In the end Barnevelt broke up the Conference on May 20th, and the States passed what Trigland describes as "a long resolution about peace, rest and so on, with nothing in it about truth."[4]

The Remonstrants wanted mutual toleration, but the Contra-Remonstrants would be satisfied with nothing less than the judgment of a Synod on the points at issue. The States' decree really gave the former what they wanted, and exhorted preachers to keep to "sober and moderate" discussion in their pulpits.[5] It was impossible that this should be a final settlement of the question.

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, CXVI; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 84, 85.
[2] Ibid., II, 85–87; *Brieven*, CXVII.
[3] See Chapter VI.
[4] Trigland, pp. 559, 611.
[5] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 50; Limborch, op. cit., p. 37; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 93.

The secular authorities could not see how passionately the orthodox party believed that the very foundations of religion were being shaken. If they could not have a National Synod, they said, let an appeal be made to foreign Churches and Universities of the Reformed Faith to give their judgment between the contending parties. Meanwhile Wtenbogaert and Festus Hommius prepared accounts of the Conference which were read before the States of Holland and West Friesland on November 30th.[1] The States had already declared that they had no intention to take sides in the controversy, and did not wish that unsound teachers should be confirmed in office or admitted to the ministry. So they resolved on December 3rd, 1611, that no teaching on the Atonement, Justification, Saving Faith, Original Sin, and the Assurance of Salvation should be given in Church or school contrary to that hitherto taught in the provinces.[2] They also decided that an account of the Hague Conference should be printed and sent to the nobles, magistrates of the towns, States' Councillors, and the twelve ministers who had been present, but that there should be no further distribution of the circular and no discussion.[3]

It was, however, quite impossible to stop the issue of pamphlets, which steadily increased in volume on both sides. A book called *The Anchor of Souls*, with a preface by van Mehen of Harderwijk in Gelderland, attacked Wtenbogaert and his book on Authority, and urged the careful scrutiny of candidates for the ministry so as to exclude those with Arminian sympathies. All this was so much in opposition to the decrees of the States of Holland that Wtenbogaert, van den Borre and Grevinchoven wrote to the Gelderland Synod a long letter of protest.[4] The Synod had just ended when the letter was received, but was called together again and sent a polite but

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 94; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 81–6.

[2] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 97; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 86; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 96.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 100.

[4] *Brieven*, CXXII, June 24th, 1611; Reply, CXXIII; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 99.

entirely non-committal reply. Sibrandus Lubbertus and the Dordrecht preachers made separate attacks on Venator, and there was much writing against Vorstius. The most popular publication on the subject at this time was a much more secular document, a satire called *Comœdia Vetus*, full of broad Dutch humour on the need of sailors for the management of the good vessel the State.[1] It was published anonymously in 1612, and was really a plea for a united front against Spain; the author was afterwards discovered to be William Meerman, the son of a burgomaster of Delft, who endeavoured in the following year to find the North-West Passage to India and never returned. On the other side Venator, Poppius and Bertius were all vocal, and the tendency was constantly for words to pass into deeds. Amsterdam dismissed a sick visitor because he was an Arminian, and advised him to find a home in Utrecht; the States forbade the bailiff of Alkmaar to permit visiting preachers to minister to the schismatical Church of Hillenius at Koedijk, and also forbade the members of the Rotterdam Church to go for communion to Ruardus Acronius at Schiedam.[2] But it was at Rotterdam that the tension was greatest and action most decisive. When Episcopius had entered the Classis there, Acronius had left it; peace was by no means achieved by this simple manœuvre. The Rotterdam ministry was largely Remonstrant, Grevinchoven being the protagonist; but the Contra-Remonstrants were represented by Cornelius Geselius, who was equally welcome to the French-speaking and the Dutch-speaking congregations. If we listen to Festus Hommius the trouble in the Rotterdam Church arose from the jealousy of Grevinchoven for the popularity of Geselius which arose from the latter's "singular piety, modesty and sincerity." The statement of the other side is that Geselius declared that members

[1] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 25, 96; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 100, 101; Trigland, p. 566; *Com. Vet.*, pp. 45–7 for Vorstius; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 116–19.

[2] Ibid., II, 87; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 87; *Brieven Wten.*, CXVI, CXVII.

of the Church could not partake of the Lord's Supper with Remonstrants with a good conscience, and warned the people against the ministry of his colleagues, Grevinchoven, the Lansbergens (father and son) and Christopher Hellerus.[1] He was warned by the magistrates of the city in June 1611, and advised to keep the peace; later on he was summoned to a conference with Grevinchoven, but refused to appear. As he continued to declare that the Rotterdam Church was no true part of the Reformed Church in accordance with the decision of Plancius and his colleagues over the call of Episcopius, the magistrates decided on October 24th, 1611, that he should be silenced both in the Dutch and Walloon Churches. He continued his services and propaganda in secret meetings, receiving help from Dordrecht and Gorcum; but on February 6th, 1612, the magistrates ordered him to leave the town within eight days and never return. As he did not obey this order, he was roused between five and six in the morning of February 14th, while it was still dark, led by the bailiff to the Delft gate in spite of his protests, thrust into the outer darkness, and the gate closed behind him. The Contra-Remonstrants continued to meet in a conventicle in a granary at Rotterdam; they still walked through the miry ways to communion at Schiedam and received the nickname of the "Mud beggars" in consequence, a name that recalled the heroic beginnings of the Dutch Republic in its first struggles with Spain.[2]

This violent procedure augured ill for the Remonstrants, whose only hope lay in the acceptance of a policy of mutual toleration. They had claimed that Calvin, Beza, Hemmingius and Junius had been supporters of that policy. Their opponents showed that Calvin and Beza never really favoured it, and that Hemmingius was rather a Danish bishop than a teacher of the Reformed Church.[3] The Contra-Remonstrants had much to

[1] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort;* Limborch, op. cit., 39; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 105; Trigland, p. 615.

[2] Ibid., pp. 613–15; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 106–7; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 87.

[3] Trigland, p. 565; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 82–6.

support their contention that the *Belgic Confession* should be signed by all preachers and teachers, and that the points in dispute did affect fundamental questions, considering where the emphasis lay in the theology of the Reformed Church in the United Provinces. It was idle for the Arminians to claim victories at Alkmaar, Utrecht and Rotterdam if they depended chiefly on the support of the secular arm. Popular opinion was against them. North Holland outside Alkmaar was almost solidly Contra-Remonstrant, and it included the growing commercial capital of the provinces, the rich and influential city of Amsterdam. In South Holland the Arminians were on firmer ground, as they had a majority in Rotterdam and Gouda, and good strategic positions in Leiden and at the Hague; but Dordrecht, Delft and the country districts would not receive them. Utrecht was probably their strongest province, and they had a good deal of influence in South Gelderland and Overyssel. In the other provinces there was the sternest opposition to their innovations. The sailors of Zeeland, intensest of patriots and Protestants, regarded the Arminians as a new sect of Papists. North Gelderland and Friesland were not more hopeful, while the attitude of Groningen can be judged from the fact that in 1614 it established its own University with Gomarus as a professor in order to guard itself against the dangerous theology of Leiden.[1] We shall find the provinces uniting again this year in the demand for a National Synod, and Barnevelt, in a moment of bewilderment, suggesting that the solution of the problem may be that each province should fix its own religion.[2] The Constitution of the United Provinces was very peculiar, and the rights of each Provincial Assembly very marked, but religion was the cement of the whole building, and the continued existence of the Republic depended upon unity. The wisest statesmen found

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 124–27, 46 n. Donteclock says it was impossible to find a single Arminian in Amsterdam; cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 103.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 94.

their powers taxed to the utmost by this intractable question. The time of popular success for Arminianism had not yet arrived. A far more hopeful incident was that Tilenus, professor of Sedan, attacked the views of Arminius on Free Will and Predestination this year, and found the reply of Corvinus his own complete refutation. Like Arminius himself, he had the honesty to admit his change of view.[1] The Remonstrants had the promise of the future, and were to gain their victories by quiet encroachments among the teachers of the Protestant nations. For the moment they had suffered a serious reverse by their blunder in inviting Conrad Vorstius to be the successor of Arminius at the University of Leiden.

[1] Trigland, p. 612; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 137.

CHAPTER VI

CONRAD VORSTIUS AND LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

Konrad von der Vorst was born at Cologne on July 19th, 1569. His father was a Roman Catholic merchant of that city, and he himself, as the youngest of a family of ten children, was intended for the priesthood. He was trained at Dusseldorf and Aachen, and then at the Collegium Laurentianum at Cologne, to which he went at the age of seventeen. As he stumbled at the decrees of the Council of Trent, he returned to business for two years, but was sent back to theology by a visit of the Reformer, John Badius, to Cologne. He then came under the influence of the leading theologians of the Reformed Churches, and studied under Piscator at Herborn, Paraeus at Heidelberg and Beza at Geneva; he also spent some time at the University of Basel. He was then called by that stout Protestant, Count Arnold of Bentheim, to be Professor in Theology at his little academy of Steinfurt. The county of Bentheim lay just over the German side of the frontier from the province of Overyssel, to the south of what was afterwards the Kingdom of Hanover. It was not an imposing appointment to which Vorstius went in 1596, even though the dignity of Court Chaplain was given to him a few years later. Still it was a quiet place of service for a diligent student, and he refused calls to wider service to Saumur, Marburg, Hanau, and even to Poland.[1] The seventeenth-century theologian was more of an international character than his successor of to-day for two reasons: in the first place, because of the universal use of Latin; and secondly, because the Wars of Religion strengthened the ties which bound men together by creed rather than by nation. The call of Vorstius

[1] See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

to Poland was, however, something of a scandal, for it was to the Socinian Academy at Lublin that he was invited. He declined it because he was no Socinian, though he was well read in their literature ; nevertheless, his enemies remembered this bad mark against his name. It was not the only blot on the scutcheon. As early as June 1598 he received an affectionate letter from his old tutor Paraeus, in which certain theses which he had defended were declared to be "as like to Socinianism as an egg to an egg."[1] In his reply Vorstius denied the charge, defending his theses at length and claiming the right to discuss theological questions without using the exact phrases of Luther, Calvin and Melanchthon. He preferred with Zanchius to drink the old wine of the Fathers.[2] The positions that were objected to were a declaration that Christ did not suffer the pangs of eternal death, and another to the effect that God could forgive sins without any sacrificial expiation. This involved a long correspondence between Vorstius, and professors both at Heidelberg and Basel, into which Count Arnold was drawn. In the end the Count advised Vorstius to appear before the Heidelberg professors and find a way of reconciliation. A conference was therefore held in September 1599, at which Vorstius was told that he had given too much attention to the teaching of Socinus, and was inclined to follow subtle disputes rather than to keep to the simplicity of the Gospel. He agreed to avoid these views in future, and to keep to the teaching of the *Heidelberg Catechism*.[3] After this a period of peace followed, but it was clear that the reputation of Vorstius was growing in orthodox circles by the invitations he received to chairs of theology in academies of the Reformed Churches. Year by year he discussed a series of theses on the existence and attributes of God which were eventually published at Steinfurt in 1610 under the title *Tractatus Theologicus*

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 27.

[2] Ibid., No. 28.

[3] Trigland, pp. 581–2 ; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 40–42, 71–7. See *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 29 to 35.

de Deo. The dedication to the Landgrave Maurice of Hesse is dated March 20th, 1606, and the first discussion on the existence of God took place on March 9th, 1598, with Henry Rosaeus as respondent. The tenth and last debate on the Affections of the Deity took place on January 23rd, 1602. The dates are of importance, as this was the volume that roused the wrath of King James I and was the chief stumbling-block in the way of the professor as he moved from Germany to the United Provinces. His method will be found to be much less expository and more scholastic than that of Arminius. Fanciful and speculative, we find him a more interesting writer than the solid Dutchman, with a less obvious saturation of careful Biblical knowledge. At one point we seem back with the medieval schoolmen in discussions on the Omnipresence of God, as to whether it involves that the Deity is present in drops of water, grains of sand, the hairs of the head, in atoms, in devils or filthy latrines.[1] Again he becomes more practical and discusses the meaning of the divine attributes in the person of Jesus. Here we seem to find the influence of more recent discussions in Lutheran circles where the attempt had been made to preserve the absolute attributes of the Deity in the Person of Christ by means of the doctrine of the *Communicatio idiomatum*, by which what was denied of the human nature of Christ could be affirmed of His divine nature.[2] There was at least sufficient ingenuity in the volume to make it possible for the enemies of Vorstius to declare that he had taught that God was neither omnipotent, omnipresent nor omniscient, indeed had a corporeal presence, and that the professor's whole attitude to "Jesus of Nazareth" looked in the Socinian direction. All these charges he declared to be false, but they had not yet been brought forward when his name was mentioned as a possible successor to Arminius.

[1] Cf. *Oratio Apologetica*, p. 18; *de Deo*, pp. 210–12.

[2] See A. B. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ*, pp. 84–114, for summaries of teaching of Martin Chemnitz; cf. Brunswick and John Brentz of Würtemberg; Vorst., *de Deo*, pp. 250–60.

After the death of Arminius his rival Gomarus held the theological field at Leiden alone for four months. There was no obvious successor among the preachers of the United Provinces, though there were several men who were capable teachers and had sufficient learning to recommend them for the task. The trouble was that all the Dutch theologians had taken sides, and there was sure to be some sharp controversy over an appointment so vital in its influence on the future ministry of the Church. The names of Bertius, Festus Hommius, J. A. Corvinus, and even of Wtenbogaert were mentioned. Indeed it was Wtenbogaert who was first named by the Curators of the University at their meeting at the Hague on Tuesday, March 17th, 1610.[1] This was due to the fact that neither of them (van der Myle and Mathenesse) were Calvinists, and the Leiden burgomasters even less so. Wtenbogaert was given a week to consider it, but he did not require so long a time. The life of a court chaplain is no preparation for the scholarly duties of a professor. Immediately afterwards van der Myle and Wtenbogaert were sent on an embassy to Paris and, as van der Myle had to go back to France a second time, it was not until July 10th that a meeting of the Curators of the University could be held.[2] They then met the burgomasters of Leiden to consider the appointment of a successor to Arminius. It was time they came to some decision, for nearly a year had passed since his death, and the theological school already showed a marked decline in the number of its students. It was Wtenbogaert who recommended Vorstius. He did not know him personally; their point of contact had been their common friends, Arminius and Rosaeus, the latter of whom had been a student at Steinfurt, and was now minister at the Hague. It was, however, well known that Beza had wanted Vorstius as a colleague at Geneva, du Plessis Mornay had sought him for Saumur and the Margrave of Hesse invited him to Marburg. His old controversy with Heidelberg was forgotten, and a recent book against Rome's great champion, Cardinal Bellar-

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 36, 37. [2] Ibid., II, 47.

mine, made him still more *persona grata* in reformed circles. Wtenbogaert believed that Vorstius was more of a Calvinist than he was himself, but he knew that he was ruled by Biblical teaching and disliked controversy. He seemed the ideal man for the post. He was committed to neither party, but was broad-minded, peaceable and learned. The Curators decided to send the secretary of the University, van Zeyst, and Wtenbogaert to interview Vorstius at Steinfurt to see if they could clear the way for his transference to Leiden. Prince Maurice also, who was about to go to camp before Jülich, sent a letter to Count William Henry of Bentheim, asking for the release of the professor; at a later date he defended this action as due to the advice of Wtenbogaert, but thought the decision was taken too hastily.[1] Bertius also took the opportunity of sending a letter to Vorstius, whom he knew, praising the *Tractatus de Deo*, and expressing the hope that he would come to Leiden.[2] The Leiden deputation found their task by no means an easy one. Vorstius was very content to remain where he was, and Steinfurt was reluctant to let him go. The duties of Wtenbogaert as army chaplain took him to the camp at Jülich, where he met Abraham Scultetus, court chaplain to the Palatinate, a strong Calvinist, who became later Professor of Theology at Heidelberg. In spite of differences of opinion the two chaplains formed a friendship and had much to talk about in the rough and tumble of an army that was zealously Calvinist but not in a bookish manner. Scultetus told the Dutch chaplain that Vorstius was "our best man"; in other words, he was for the Reformed Church of Germany the theologian of the future. Wtenbogaert added new pressure in letters to Vorstius from before Jülich.[3]

Meanwhile the other party was by no means quiescent. Plancius led the way in opposition, and was strongly supported by the preachers in his own town of Amsterdam, and by those of Dordrecht and Enkhuizen, ever

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 99; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 48, 51.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 147, July 16th, 1610.
[3] Ibid., Nos. 148, 151, 152; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 52.

ready to follow where Amsterdam led. According to van den Borre in urgent letters to Wtenbogaert, they were ready to turn the whole State topsy-turvy rather than permit Vorstius to come to Leiden.[1] Wtenbogaert and Vorstius were on opposite sides of the Rhine ; Borrius urged Wtenbogaert to get leave of absence, meet the professor at Wesel, bring him down the river if possible, and face the opposition. Plancius and Becius of Dordrecht and their friends had routed out the old charges against Vorstius and had written to Heidelberg for fuller information. The reply stated that ten years ago Vorstius had been sent to Heidelberg by the late Count to clear himself of the charge of Socinianism. Now in *de Deo* he had made God finite, variable and liable to suffering. Moreover, in his preface to the book against Bellarmine, he had spoken very freely on the subject of the liberty of prophesying.[2] Here was all the material necessary for a new conflagration. It was expected that the matter would be brought up at the next meeting of the States of Holland. Wtenbogaert persuaded Vorstius to come down to the Hague at the middle of September, and at the same time Leiden received the objection of Steinfurt against the call. "Our college," they said, "is in the midst of Papists ; you are at peace. You have many theologians ; we can scarcely find one. Moreover, Vorstius is both a preacher and a teacher for us."[3] Vorstius remained more than a month in the United Provinces and could hardly have found the temper of the Churches entirely friendly to him. Perhaps his visit to Utrecht was intended to give him kindlier impressions of his Dutch neighbours, for by this time the Calvinists had widely circulated the Heidelberg judgment to the various Synod deputies through the provinces.[4] Even Wtenbogaert wavered for a moment, but the die was cast and the Remonstrants determined to fight their

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, CIV, CV.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 149, August 26th, 1610 ; cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 150.

[3] Ibid., No. 153, Sept. 16th, 1610 ; Trigland, p. 583.

[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 57.

way through. They actually went to Amsterdam to meet Plancius face to face, and there Vorstius had two conferences with him on October 27th and 28th. Plancius complained that Vorstius was introducing a new Arianism into the Reformed Church; he had said that the sacred name of the Almighty had been applied to creatures in the Old Testament, and also had denied that Christ was ever represented as a mediator in the same Scriptures. Vorstius showed that Calvin agreed with him in the first statement, and as to the second, it was impossible for Christ to mediate before He became the God-man. But, said Plancius, there was a Lamb slain for us before the foundation of the world. That is not spoken of actual slaughter, was the reply, but as Junius said, it was so written in the book of the Lamb. On the subject of the Trinity, Vorstius agreed with the *Catechism*.[1] These statements produced no impression on the mind of Plancius, and Vorstius learnt his temper more perfectly from a bitter sermon which he heard him preach before he left Amsterdam. It could hardly add to the pleasurable prospects of the candidate for the chair of theology at Leiden that fifty-five of the students of the University presented a petition to the States of Holland against his appointment at this very time (October 3rd, 1610).[2] In spite of all opposition, however, the invitation was confirmed on October 19th, after Vorstius had interviewed Prince Maurice and appeared before the States of Holland. It was admitted by his opponents that he was a man of learning, eloquence and modesty; *but* he was a heretic. A prominent citizen of his own country declared that it would be a fair exchange, for, said he, "You sent us John of Leiden and we return you Vorstius."[3] The only difficulty in the way now was to secure his release from his present

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 157, Borrius to Episcopius; cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 85.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 57; Trigland, p. 604, gives date October 16th, probably of its presentation.

[3] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 38–9; Trigland, pp. 574–5; cf. *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

chair. The University of Leiden wrote to the Count of Bentheim to ask for this. They declared that they were familiar with the criticisms that had been raised against his teaching, they had heard his observations on the subject, and were quite satisfied with his defence.[1] Vorstius then returned to Steinfurt until a final decision was reached.

Amsterdam was infuriated at this new treason on the part of Leiden, and letters were sent out against Vorstius to England, Scotland, France, Marburg, Basel, Herborn, Lausanne, Geneva—to every centre of theological learning in the Reformed Churches. The Romanist Becanus was called in to help in the conflict. He had written a book called *Examen plagæ regiæ*, in which Calvinism was vigorously assailed. After a series of aphorisms against Calvinism, he dealt with the "atheisms of Vorstius."[2] Wtenbogaert caused much amusement to Barnevelt and van der Myle by reading the two sets of aphorisms together. Vorstius was likely to find it an easier matter to meet the charges levelled against him than the Calvinists were to rebut their own set of "aphorisms." The months passed by and Vorstius still lingered, in spite of letters of increasing urgency from Holland in January and February of 1611.[3] Meanwhile Gomarus had made up his mind that he could not tolerate another Arminian colleague, and bade Leiden a last farewell. He found a more congenial spiritual home first at Middelberg in Zeeland, and then at Saumur until the new University at Groningen called him to be its theological professor in 1614.[4]

Vorstius did not make the difficult road easier by publishing at this time a book on the Authority of Scripture, written by Socinus under the pseudonym of Dominicus Lopes. On the advice of the Leiden professors in 1598, it had been ordered to be burnt by the States-General because it did not acknowledge the

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 154, October 22nd, 1610.
[2] Ibid., Nos. 156, 157.
[3] Ibid., Nos. 159, 160.
[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 106–7; Trigland, p. 625.

divinity of Christ, speaking always of Him as "Jesus of Nazareth," and declaring that the sum of the teaching of the New Testament was to be found in the Sermon on the Mount. Vorstius found much that was useful in this volume, but it was at least tactless to bring out, at Steinfurt, an edition of it with notes especially when he had failed to get it printed at Heidelberg because of the opposition of the professors there.[1] Plancius and his friends were collecting every iota of evidence against Vorstius that they could find, and had succeeded in raising the temperature in church circles to a greater height than it had yet reached. The protesting Leiden students invented a nickname for their new professor, and called him Doctor ignorantiæ.[2] This did not make the prospects of the forthcoming Hague Conference any the more hopeful, and in the middle of it Vorstius was summoned to meet his accusers face to face.[3] For on April 29th, 1611, the six Contra-Remonstrant preachers drew up a statement of their case against Vorstius and presented it as a twelfth-hour appeal to the States of Holland against his appointment. They gave in detail an account of the charges against him at Heidelberg more than a dozen years before. They added a letter from Paraeus of August 26th, 1610, in reply to their inquiries, in which it was stated that Vorstius had been suspected since he had cleared himself in 1599. They spoke of the heresies of *de Deo* and his recent publication, and concluded with the offensive preface to the *Anti-Bellarmine*, in which he favoured too great liberty of prophesying.[4] On May 6th the States of Holland considered this censure, and then called on the six Remonstrant members of the Conference to give their judgment. Wtenbogaert declared their hesitation in giving a reply and his reasons for it. From previous

[1] Trigland, pp. 584–5; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 45; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 90.

[2] Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.* The Steinfurt edition was translated into English and issued with a life of Socinus by Edward Combe in 1731.

[3] For Hague Conference see Chap. V.

[4] Trigland, pp. 581–8; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 40–9.

experience they had found such declarations to be very dangerous, and to have provoked new conflicts. He complained that liberty of speech was not allowed them, they were misrepresented, their letters were opened and documents seized. They had enough to do to defend their Remonstrants. Barnevelt exhorted him to proceed : " Do the right and fear not," he said.[1] Wtenbogaert then described his share in the call of Vorstius, saying that he had not read of the *Tractatus de Deo* at that time, but knew his valuable books against the Jesuits and understood that he was a learned and moderate man. Then he came to the detailed accusations. He and his colleagues could find no such thing as atheism in the writings of Vorstius nor anything contrary to the divine honour and the foundation of the Church. The Heidelberg business had been cleared up at the time, and should not have been brought up again. The vague charges of Pelagianism and Socinianism were not proved. Scultetus, a Heidelberg preacher, had recently declared, " I can hardly think of anyone who would so adorn your college as he would." As to the " godless " book on the Authority of Scripture, it was an attempt to prove to the Jews and atheists that the Old and New Testaments comprised the only perfect Word of God. Naturally against such opponents, the proof was not taken from the Scriptures, yet such arguments were liable to suspicion, coming from the source they did. The theses in *de Deo* were too scholastic in form, yet Zanchius at Heidelberg in his day had followed similar methods for many years without reproof, nor was there any criticism of these discussions until they were collected into one volume. There were many subtleties in the book, but the author was confronting subtle adversaries. He did not deny God's omnipresence, nor did he deny that forgiveness of sins was only won by the death of Christ. Even Calvin has said that it was *possible* for God to redeem men by a mere word. The other " heresies " of the book were denied, and if all books were scrutinized in this fashion, not many of them

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, CXVIII ; cf. Trigland, p. 589.

would stand the test. In substance his views on Predestination were those of the Remonstrants, yet if on that account he was not fit for a professorship they were not fit to remain in the ministry.[1] We are not surprised that after this manly support of the accused Trigland declared that Wtenbogaert might have been briefed by Vorstius.[2]

The States referred the subject to a committee, and a conference took place between Vorstius and the committee, at which the twelve preachers were present. The Remonstrants declared that Vorstius had said nothing against the fundamentals of the faith; the Contra-Remonstrants could not agree. The majority of the lay representatives were satisfied with the professor's defence, but some towns reserved their judgment. He was installed in his new office on May 24th, 1611.[3]

But the stars in their courses fought against Vorstius. He wrote a mild letter of protest to his old tutor Paraeus, for the part he had played in opposing the Leiden appointment, and was speaking of the removal of his furniture to his new home,[4] when fresh rumours were circulated about the renewed and pressing invitation of the Polish Socinians to Vorstius to become the lecturer in theology at their Academy. Much correspondence was said to have passed between Vorstius and an individual named Osterodt on the subject. Wtenbogaert was much agitated by this new report, and wrote an earnest letter to Vorstius telling him that they wanted no Osterodian professor, but a Christian one. So far as he was concerned he had had no dealings with the Socinians at all, had hardly looked into their books; he pressed for an immediate reply.[5] The answer from Steinfurt, where Vorstius was indulging in a lengthy process of packing up, was quite satisfactory. He explained the reasons for this rumour, denied that he

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, CXVIII. Statement given at length.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 91.
[3] Ibid., II, 92; Trigland, p. 594.
[4] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 162, May 15th.
[5] Ibid., No. 164, June 24th; Trigland, p. 595.

was in any sense a Socinian, and said that he stood by his declaration of faith made to the Curators of the University.[1] Wtenbogaert was at Utrecht in these anxious days, and was greatly relieved by this statement. He wrote again on July 13th to Vorstius to say that the political leaders would be pleased ; there would probably be some difficulties at the beginning of his work at Leiden, but these would gradually disappear. Du Moulin had been invited to succeed Gomarus, but the Paris congregation was unwilling to release him. As a matter of fact, it was an Arminian, J. A. Corvinus, who was lecturing in theology for the time being. A house had been rented for him, and all the leaders thought he should occupy it before the end of the month.[2] The Polish business was, however, so serious that the secretary of the University and the pensionary of Leiden went to Deventer to meet Vorstius. He made there on July 22nd a solemn declaration in writing of his full belief in the doctrines of the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, the Virgin Birth and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Saviour to God, reconciling the world to the Father.[3] The deputation had reached Amersfoort in its leisurely return, fortified with this truly orthodox document, when it met a messenger from Leiden with a whole bundle of letters which raised a series of new problems, and sent them headlong back to Vorstius for new explanations. It will be remembered that the north-easterly provinces of Friesland and Groningen were the stoutest supporters of High Calvinism in the Netherlands, their only possible rivals being Zeeland, Dort and Amsterdam. In this zealous allegiance the University of Franeker led the way, and the mouthpiece of the University was Sibrandus Lubbertus, of whose controversy with Episcopius we have already heard. In this unsympathetic atmosphere some students of Vorstius found themselves,

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 163, June 30th.

[2] Ibid., No. 165 ; cf. *Brieven*, J., CXXIV ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 106.

[3] For declaration see *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 166 ; cf. Trigland, p. 595 ; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 89–90.

and were provoked to strike a blow against the prevailing opinion. They published a book which had elements of humour about it, and succeeded in arousing Lubbertus and Bogerman to a pitch of frenzy, for neither of them were apt to see humour in anything, least of all in such a subject. The book was in Latin, and as the printer was innocent of any knowledge of that language, he was pronounced guiltless. Still, it was through him that the culprits were found. The printer's name was given out to be Theophilus, the son of Adam, who apparently lived at Eirenopolis, the city of peace. The subject-matter was concerning the office of a Christian in religious disputes. It was proved, ironically, that the only place for a real Christian in the present state of furious controversy was among the Polish Arians.[1] The students were identified and their documents and note-books seized. There were three of them, who had all been under Vorstius at Steinfurt, one of them being for some time his amanuensis there. In their correspondence with one another the names of Vorstius, Bertius and Wtenbogaert were mentioned, and an eager interest was displayed in the progress of the case of the first-named in Holland. Another Remonstrant who appeared in the correspondence was Assuerus Matthisius of Deventer. The most damning part of the whole business was the fact that there were letters to Dantzig there asking for Socinian books from Poland. The plague of Socinianism was so carefully kept out of the Provinces that the only way of getting at the writings of Faustus Socinus and his followers was by the friendly offices of some sea captain travelling to Dantzig. All this information was laid before the States of Friesland, who met at Leeuwarden on July 24th, and sent it forward to the States of Holland with a strong protest against the appointment of Vorstius.[2] Two witnesses were also produced, one of whom said that he had lived four years in Westphalia and had met Vorstius there. The latter

[1] Trigland, pp. 596–7.

[2] Ibid., pp. 597–600 ; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 77 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 108.

had told him that he did not accept the *Heidelberg Catechism* as all good. He also advised him to read the Socinian books on Salvation ; it was possible to get them through Dantzig. The second witness declared that in the library at Steinfurt he had found the Socinian treatise *de Filatione*, which belonged to Vorstius.[1] The students themselves were expelled, and their books publicly burnt. We can only appreciate how dangerous these new charges were if we are able to recover the seventeenth-century horror for Socinianism.

On August 3rd Vorstius wrote another declaration to the Curators and to the Leiden magistrates. He said that he was back in Steinfurt in duty to the Count, and to get time for further consideration. The Frisians would never be satisfied until he was driven into exile, but he was coming to Holland to face his accusers. The Franeker students were said to have read and written Socinian books containing good and bad things. He knew nothing about it. There was no deep-laid plot to introduce Socinianism secretly into the Provinces. As for himself, he was neither a Socinian nor an Ebionite, and never had been. He cherished fellowship with all Evangelical Christians, and read Socinian books. As they were difficult to obtain, he had written for them. Every good theologian should read the other side. He denied that he encouraged his students to read them. As to the two witnesses, what he said to the first of them was that his faith should be fixed in the Word of Truth, and not in the *Heidelberg Catechism*. He could not remember advising him to read Socinian books. As to the second, why should not such books be studied ? There was serious danger that they would be subjected to a new Inquisition.[2]

Protests continued to come in from Gelderland, from Dordrecht, and other places ; but Barnevelt would have been able to repel them all had it not been for the unexpected intervention of King James I. The King of Great Britain might have been expected to give some support to the Arminians, as he thoroughly approved

[1] Trigland, pp. 600–601. [2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 167.

their attitude to secular authority as expressed by Wtenbogaert's volume, and he had so wearied of the Calvinist tyranny of Scotland that he forbade such high themes to be discussed in the pulpit. On the subject of Predestination he had told the States' delegates as recently as 1610 that he had studied it as well as anybody, "and I have come to the conclusion that nothing certain can be laid down in regard to it. I have myself not always been of one mind about it, but I will bet that my opinion is the best of any, although I would not hang my salvation upon it. My Lords the States would do well to order their doctors and teachers to be silent on this topic." He took his title of Defender of the Faith with all seriousness, however, and imagined that he had discovered in Vorstius some new and dangerous heresy. His attitude may also have been affected by the fact that he received his first information through the Calvinist Archbishop of Canterbury. It was Sibrandus Lubbertus who had repeated his manœuvre of 1608 by writing to Protestant foreign countries for help against the internal foe. He addressed a long letter to Archbishop Abbott on August 21st, in which the dangerous errors of Vorstius were remorselessly exposed.[1] The Archbishop was not slow in handing on this information to his royal master, for on August 30th the King wrote to the British Ambassador at the Hague, Sir Ralph Winwood, giving him instructions to oppose the appointment of the new professor. His Majesty had read in the interval the *Tractatus de Deo* and the interpretation of it given to the States by Vorstius; after that he "stayed not an hour," but wrote to Winwood telling him to "repaire to the States-General in oure name," and let them know that "we shall be displeased if such a monster receive advancement in the Church." He also gave to his less instructed Ambassador a catalogue of the "damnable positions" maintained by Vorstius.[2] Armed with this information

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 109; cf. *Hollandiæ Pietas*, etc., by Grotius in reply, 1613; Trigland, p. 602.

[2] *His Majesty's Declaration*, etc. (Barker, 1612), pp. 3–6.

Winwood exploded his mine at the meeting of the States on September 21st. The King expected that Vorstius would be kept out of Leiden, as he had not yet really settled there, his wife and family not having arrived. Borrius wrote to him on September 23rd, giving him some account of this new attack and informing him that he was to be given the opportunity of answering his critics at the next meeting of the States, which would be held about October 20th. From the same letter he learned that one of his Franeker students was still in prison at Leeuwarden for his share in the publication of *The Office of a Christian*.[1] So when Vorstius finally arrived in Leiden, the omens for his labour were by no means propitious. The Curators at least thought that the weather must improve before he began his lectures.[2]

Barnevelt set to work to find out through the States Ambassador at London who had communicated so much information to England. Meanwhile a courteous reply was sent to the King expressing gratitude for His Majesty's interest, and recounting the whole procedure of the call of Vorstius. The States emphasized the diligent inquiry made by the very capable Curators of the University, the eleven years of Vorstius' professorship at Steinfurt during which other countries had sought his services and the ability of his writings against the Jesuits. As to the charges against him, he had met these at a full meeting of the States in May, and had since refuted new charges in August.[3] This letter was sent on October 1st, and on October 6th the King sent back his vigorous reply. In the interval, Bertius had chosen to send copies of his book on the fall of the elect both to the Archbishop and to Casaubon, whom he had long known, who had also been a fellow student with Vorstius at Geneva. Casaubon had no mind to enter into these controversies. "Richard Thomson introduced your book to me," he says to Bertius,[4] "but

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 169.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 111.
[3] *H.M.'s Decl.*, pp. 9–14; Trigland, p. 603; Fuller, *Church Hist.*, III, 250.
[4] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 170, September 29th, 1611—summarized.

I am no theologian. I am occupied with reading the fathers; I admire their piety; novelties do not suit my taste. Our people (i.e. Reformed Churches) are against the fathers. We could talk these questions out better. Morality and old piety lie in the middle way between Pelagianism and Manicheeism. New opinions are abroad which deny that God is infinite, eternal, omnipotent, cognizant of the future. Reverence is destroyed. As for your book, if you had followed my advice you would never have sent it to the Archbishop. He is a very religious man, but of the opposite opinion." Bertius, was, however, as little endowed with tact as Vorstius, and between them they succeeded in goading the royal lion to a state of frenzy. In his letter of October 6th the King said that more books of Vorstius had come to England and a certain Bertius, a scholar of Arminius, "was so impudent as to send a letter unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, *De Apostasia Sanctorum* (the title whereof only were enough to make it worthy of the fire)," and shamelessly to maintain that its doctrine agreed with that of the Church of England. His Majesty judged (to use his own words) that it was "high time for us to bestir ourselves, *non solum paries proximus ardebat*" (the flame began to devour his own house); or, as the royal metaphors became confused in turning rapidly from burning Ilium, the plague began "to creep into the bowels of our own Kingdom."[1] The books of Vorstius were ordered to be publicly burnt at both Universities and at St. Paul's Churchyard. His Majesty would apparently have preferred that the man rather than his books should have been so treated, for "never any heretic better deserved to be burnt."[2] His zeal for the truth was disappointed at having missed the opportunity of correcting Arminius: "it was our hard hap not to hear of this Arminius before he was dead."[3] Still it was possible to deal with Vorstius and to purify the University of Leiden, which should be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. "But especially ought you to

[1] *His Majesty's Declaration*, pp. 15–16. [2] Ibid., p. 20.
[3] Ibid., p. 18.

be very careful not to hazard the corruption of your youth in so famous an universitie by the doctrine of so scandalous a person, who (it is to be feared) when he findeth himself once settled there, will return again to his ancient vomit."[1] If the States refused to listen to this attack, the King was not only prepared to stop the British youth from going to Leiden, but to form a league with other Reformed Churches against false and heretical Churches.

Vorstius was overwhelmed with these attacks, and wrote humble letters of defence on October 13th to the King, to Archbishop Abbott and to Casaubon. The letters to the King and the Archbishop were presented by the Ambassador of the States, Noel de Caron. The letter to Casaubon went direct as to an old friend, declaring his belief in God's omnipotence and his readiness to cure the faults of *de Deo* in a new edition. He begged the Archbishop to intercede with the King on his behalf; the articles extracted from his book by the King were mere scholastic discussions. To the infuriated monarch himself he declared that he had taught nothing against the Scriptures and the consent of the Church, but had indulged in too much discussion of human opinion.[2] Thomas Fuller considered that each word in his Majesty's Declaration on Vorstius was so pure and precious that it could not be lessened without loss: he did, however, summarize the King's interpretation of the teaching of Vorstius sufficiently accurately for our purpose. "This wretch," he says, "did seek to stoop God to man, by debasing His purity, assigning Him a material body; confining His immensity, as not being everywhere; shaking His immutability, as if His will were subject to change; darkening His omnisciency, as uncertain to future contingents; with many more monstrous opinions, fitter to be remanded to hell than committed to writing."[3] That was the strain in which the King's arguments were presented by Winwood at the meeting of the States, on

[1] *His Majesty's Declaration*, pp. 21–22; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 171.
[2] Ibid., Nos. 173, 174, 175.
[3] Fuller, *Church Hist.*, III, 249.

November 5th, "that they might discerne the Lyon by his pawes."[1] His Majesty declared that he valued the title of Defender of the Faith more than that of the King of Great Britain, and therefore he omitted no point in the count against Vorstius. "The disciples of Socinus (with whose doctrine he hath been suckled in his childhood) doe seeke him for their Master and are ready to embrace him. Let him goe, he is a Bird of their own feather"; such was the practical conclusion of the wisest King since Solomon.[2] The English Ambassador was even more antagonistic than his master, for he wrote to the English representative at Paris that Vorstius was "the most remarkable Atheist which our age hath borne," and urged him to secure some clever Jesuit to write against such a heretic.[3]

Barnevelt and his supporters were certainly in somewhat of a quandary by the violence of this attack from England. They neither wanted to see the orthodox party victorious and the ecclesiastical authority set above the secular power, nor could they afford to quarrel with so important a Protestant power as Great Britain. Their reply was delayed for six weeks, and was of a temporizing nature when it was completed. They said that Vorstius was now a citizen of Leiden, and that a full and satisfactory answer should be given to the King's letter after the next meeting of the States in the following February.[4] On December 15th Vorstius published a defence called his *Christiana et Modesta Responsio*, which was dedicated to the States. These efforts were of little avail, for Winwood told Barnevelt two days later that the religious bond with England was broken. The Dutch statesman said little, but his real view was expressed in his observations to Caron on the subject: "I hope we are free to form a judgment on our own affairs." Most critics to-day will feel that Barnevelt

[1] *His Majesty's Declaration*, p. 27.

[2] Ibid., p. 33; cf. Trigland, pp. 604–7; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 53–69; Winwood's second oration in detail.

[3] Winwood, *Memorials*, III, 310.

[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 111; *His Majesty's Declaration*, pp. 41–3.

was right, but James I had no sense of the impropriety of his interference with the domestic problems of the United Provinces. On the contrary, he was both surprised and annoyed by the obstinacy that was displayed, first in assuming that the Defender of the Faith might have been misinformed, and then in not acting on his instructions. For a moment, however, he wavered, and there was a possibility that Winwood would be recalled. In the end the Ambassador's friends prevailed, and the King's policy was unchanged. The friends of Vorstius, too, rallied to his support. Wtenbogaert gave him a steady backing, and from the court of the Count of Bentheim came warm approval of his "modest reply," and astonishment at the attitude of King James I towards so innocent a professor.[1] "Nothing in my life," said Vorstius to Winwood, "has been so bitter as the attack of the King of Great Britain."[2] The latter now showed no signs of relenting. "If he had bin our owne subject," he said, "we would have bid him *exspue*—spit out." This was not due to any national bias, for "he is a Germane, and it is well known that all Germanes are our friends."[3] A stern sense of duty compelled the King to publish an account of the correspondence between himself and the States over the question of Vorstius, which appeared in French with English and Latin translations. "Beware lest there be any man that spoile you through Philosophy and vain Deceit," was its motto. This was the alarming document that Vorstius had to confront when he made his apology at the meeting of the States of Holland and West Friesland held at the Hague on March 22nd.[4] The address was spoken in German, and afterwards published at Leiden in Dutch and Latin. In the Oration he met the charges of King James on the heresies of *de Deo*, and also the charges of Socinianism that came from Friesland. It was on the whole a complete denial of the charges

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 176, 178, 179, 180.
[2] Ibid., No. 177.
[3] *His Majesty's Declaration*, pp. 83, 87.
[4] *Oratio Apologetica*, etc.

against him. He had shown some audacity in speculation beyond the limits of Scripture, but other scholastics had done this before him.[1] He had limited the divine omniscience so far as to modestly question the teaching of Calvin, Beza, and Zanchius on predestination. Also he had admitted that God was capable of love and hatred, but not of fear and despair. He was no Arian. "I believe that Jesus Christ is not only a true and perfectly righteous man, but true and eternal God."[2] Otherwise on the divine omnipotence, infinity, and omnipresence he claimed to be perfectly orthodox, though he admitted ignorance as to the mode of the divine omnipresence.[3] As to the proceedings of the Franeker students he knew nothing at all about them, and had forgotten that he had sent greetings to them by his old amanuensis. The reply seemed to meet the charges fairly enough, but was it genuine? The question about the meaning of the *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo* seems a straightforward matter of fact. Was Vorstius or James I right in the interpretation of it? The answer is not quite so straightforward as would appear, for the book is still a perplexing and irritating production. It seems to us that Vorstius was perfectly sincere in declaring his belief in the absolute attributes of the Godhead, and yet at the same time he indulged in a good deal of fanciful and dangerous speculation, such as the discussion of the possibility of a bodily form for the Godhead which did not represent his own views at all. Also his belief in the Divinity of Jesus Christ appears to be sincere, but he felt the attractiveness of much of the Socinian teaching on the subject of the Atonement. He felt that it was *possible* for God to forgive sins without any scheme of propitiation, and the moral influence of the Cross appealed to him as an explanation of its power rather than the dogma that it was a divinely appointed sacrifice duly carried out. If he sinned here in company with Socinius, he sinned also

[1] *Oratio Apologetica*, etc., pp. 11–12.
[2] Ibid., pp. 21, 32, 41.
[3] Ibid., p. 20.

with Abelard and many great Christian teachers before and since his time. It was, however, very difficult for men like Sibrandus Lubbertus and Gomarus to listen to such teaching.

The States appointed some of their number to meet the Curators of the University and the burgomasters of Leiden. The meeting took place on April 20th, 1612, and they decided to bow to the storm. At the same time it was impossible to simply turn away a scholar who had served the Reformed Church at Steinfurt for fifteen years, and had been enticed away by their invitation. So Vorstius was to be a professor of the University, and receive the emoluments of the office, but he was to live at Gouda and reply to the charges that were made against him.[1] If this was a compromise, it was a compromise that had very much the appearance of a defeat for the Remonstrant party. The result of a very bitter struggle was to leave them weaker than it found them. They lost also at this time a great champion in the person of Elias Oldenbarnevelt of Rotterdam, who died suddenly at his brother's house. "The judgments of God are inscrutable," said Winwood to King James concerning this; "the event occasions much discourse, for he was not only a patron of Arminius and a defender of Vorstius, but likewise a persecutor of those of the reformed religion. The Divine Justice has leaden feet but iron hands."[2] This charitable judgment may be compared with observations that were made after the death of Arminius. If the Advocate of Holland had lost his brother, he was also losing ground with Prince Maurice, and the troubles over Vorstius did not make the relations between them better. "It is given out," said the Prince, "that I have written in favour of the call of Vorstius; what I did was by the advice of Wtenbogaert, who so highly commended him to me; but I think that matter was pushed on a little too hastily."[3]

[1] Trigland, p. 610; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 113; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 98; Grotius, *Pietas*, p. 14.

[2] Winwood, *Memorials.*

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 99.

It is needless to say that Vorstius was not the monster, the pest, the blasphemer that his opponents made him out to be. It was his misfortune to be the symbol of a losing cause in a very hot battle, or rather he chanced to appear "between the fell incensed points of mighty opposites" and the consequences were very unpleasant for him. It would be futile to follow his years at Gouda, where he remained till after the Synod of Dort. They were six years of controversy in which he revised, explained and defended his positions, but undoubtedly did more harm than good. His old teachers at Herborn and Heidelberg hardened themselves against him,[1] and his chief defence came from the pen of Grotius in 1613 in the name of the States of Holland, and in reply to the letter of Sibrandus Lubbertus to the Archbishop of Canterbury.[2] In defending Vorstius, Grotius was really giving an apology for the Remonstrant position in general. He showed what a weight of authority it had in the fathers, among the early Reformers and even in England. It was not merely that Predestinarian decrees were new doctrines to the English, their Erastianism also was opposed to the contra-Remonstrant views of the ecclesiastical authority. More than once King James was cleverly brought in to support an argument, and the Grotian theory that Christians should unite on a few fundamentals truths was emphasized.[3] It was an able volume, was approved by the States and pleased Casaubon, but the bludgeon of Lubbertus seemed to the multitude more effective than the rapier of Grotius.

The later years of Vorstius were very melancholy. After the decisions of the Synod of Dort had gone against the Remonstrants, on May 4th, 1619, he was dismissed from his professorship and expelled from Gouda. The next three years were spent in the neighbourhood of Utrecht. In 1622 he received an invitation from the Duke of Gottorp, and sailed from Hoorn to

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190.

[2] *Ordinum Hollandiæ ac West Frisiæ Pietas ab improbissimis multorum calumniis præsertim vero a nupera Sibrandi Lubberti, Epistola*, etc.

[3] *Pietas*, pp. 18, 26, 34, 41, 60, 61.

Tonningen, but on October 9th of that year his troubled life came to an end, and he is commemorated by a statue at Friedrichstadt.[1] It is impossible not to sympathize with Vorstius. He was not one of the square-browed, pugnacious theologians, who were so plentifully produced at that time and seemed born for the prize-ring. He had a real dislike for controversy, and was a man of high character, real learning and ingenuity. He was not a man of the world, and seemed to have a faculty for doing and saying the wrong thing, but the circumstances of his times seemed to arrange for him a punishment out of all proportion to his blunders and errors. The great world, however, rolls onward. New-comers fill up the gaps in the ranks. The names of the fallen are forgotten, but the battle threatens to continue until the Day of Judgment.

A Professor Honorarius at Gouda was of little service to the students at Leiden, and it was now necessary to find some other teacher who might be allowed to live in the university town. The vacancy caused by the departure of Gomarus to Saumur was already filled. The minister of the Walloon congregation at Dort and teacher of their school there, John Polyander, was the chosen person.[2] He was forty-three years of age, but had been at Dort for twenty years; a strong Calvinist, who was only willing to lecture if Vorstius did not put in an appearance. He had written in defence of Protestantism, but had taken no part in the quarrel between Remonstrant and contra-Remonstrant. This was no doubt one reason which weighed with the Curators in their choice, another being the importance of the Walloons at Leiden both in the Church and the University there. Other French-speaking preachers had been mentioned for the post: Pierre du Moulin of Paris and Charles de Nielles of Utrecht. The call was given on August 31st, 1611, and the Calvinists thus kept their position in the University, but had secured a man of

[1] Van Slee in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie.*

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 88; Trigland, p. 625; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 155.

much less note than Gomarus. It was Oldenbarnevelt himself who approached the secular authority at Dort for the release of Polyander, being by no means the complete partisan portrayed in Calvinist descriptions of him.[1] He was of opinion, however, that the other professor should belong to the opposite side, and thus keep the balance of power. When it was finally decided that Vorstius was not to lecture, the choice of his successor was left to Leiden. They did not make the mistake of wasting time in long-drawn-out negotiations during which the temperature was steadily rising, as in the case of Vorstius. They decided to call Episcopius from Bleiswijk. He received his invitation on February 15th, 1612, and gave his inaugural oration to the University on February 23rd.[2] This must have almost constituted a record for rapid procedure in the transference of a minister from one leisurely presbytery to another. The Rotterdam Classis was, however, sympathetic, and the presence of van Zeyst for two days in Rotterdam, helped as he was by the vigorous action of Grevinchoven, speeded up the activities both of Bleiswijk and the Classis.[3] Polyander objected to the appointment and, if he must have an Arminian colleague, would have preferred Corvinus.[4] It was a great, but somewhat dangerous honour for so young a man as Episcopius. He was not yet thirty years of age and had only held a pastoral charge for a little over a year. His ability was well known, and he was marked out to be the intellectual leader of the Remonstrants as certainly as Wtenbogaert was their chief counsellor in all matters of policy. Festus Hommius made a polite call to welcome him to Leiden, congratulated him on the appointment and expressed his own pleasure at it. Doubtless the Calvinists would rather see Episcopius than Vorstius in that position, but it remained to be seen for how long peace could endure.

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 154–6.
[2] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 40; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 112.
[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 157.
[4] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 41; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

CHAPTER VII

MUTUAL TOLERATION

In 1613 there were not wanting signs of a new Protestant alliance to meet the successful progress of the Counter-Reformation. Henry of Navarre was dead, and his natural successor should have been the King of Great Britain if Great Britain had been blessed with a King at once far-seeing and courageous. James I was ill qualified to lead a new Protestant alliance. Nevertheless, he toyed with the idea without ever giving his friends adequate guarantees, much less adequate support. Yet on February 14th of this year his daughter Elizabeth married the Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate, which was now one of the strongholds of the reformed religion. Heidelberg was as orthodox as Geneva, and sympathized fully with the politics, as well as with the religion, of the United Provinces. It was natural that men should expect that less would now be heard of the pro-Spanish policy of King James, and that he would now turn his attention to the Hague rather than to Madrid. As if to encourage these expectations the Knighthood of the Garter was conferred on Maurice on February 3rd, 1613. It was a Sunday, and the installation was conducted with great ceremony in the Binnenhof, a great crowd thronging the courtyards and outer squares. Winwood made a laudatory speech in French, and Wtenbogaert as court chaplain, sitting at the opposite end of the table to Maurice, preached a sermon on the oddly appropriate passage, "The Lord taketh no pleasure in the legs of a man."[1] The preacher's theme was that the Lord's interest was in the universal Church. He may have regarded the honour of the garter as the symbol

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 282; cf. Baudart, *Memoryen*, V, 12–28, for account of the ceremony.

of a new ecclesiastical unity in which England and the United Provinces would set an example to the world, but if these hopes were cherished they were doomed to bitter disappointments. It is permissible to dream that some great personality might have united the Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia to the Calvinists of Western Europe and the Protestants of England in some alliance for safety and progress; but such a personality never emerged. The old Count John of Nassau might dream such dreams, but even he could see that Germany itself could never achieve unity. The Lutherans had been known to say that the two great Antichrists were Mahomet and Calvin, and only on second thoughts added the Pope.[1] The Elector Frederick in a very few years was destined to provoke the Thirty Years' War by his claim to the crown of Bohemia, in disaster to win for himself the nickname of the Winter King, and to discover that his royal father-in-law would not lift a little finger to support him. Moreover, the United Provinces, which might have been the centre of this hopeful alliance, were themselves torn by religious dissension, which it was the business of statesmen, secular and ecclesiastical, to endeavour to remove.

Attempts to encourage a new attitude of union were made easier by the presence of several men of influence at the Hague during these months. In December 1612 the Ambassador Caron was home on leave, and in close intercourse with Barnevelt. In their conversations they must have concerned themselves much with the theology of the British King, for the result was a visit of the diplomatic Grotius to England in the spring of 1613, nominally over East Indian business, but in reality to soften the asperities of James I against the Arminians.[2] The Elector Frederick, also, stayed at the Hague, both as he went to London for his marriage and when he returned. In fact, on his way out the Elector visited most of the chief towns of the United Provinces, and on

[1] *Archives Orange-Nassau*, II, 224.

[2] Trigland, p. 656 f.; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 202 f.

his return, six months later, he was given a great reception by the Stadholder, who enlivened the festivities by taking the Elector along the sands at a great pace in an early type of motor-car called a sail-wagon, which depended on the wind for motive power.[1]

Whatever political developments may have been discussed by Maurice and Frederick, it is certain that the Elector's chaplain, Scultetus, was hard at work in the interests of peace. He was one of the most influential Calvinist theologians of the day, and had made the acquaintance of Wtenbogaert in the recent Jülich campaign. By getting Wtenbogaert and Festus Hommius to meet, he was in hopes of finding a formula of reconciliation. In this effort he was supported by the presence of a still more influential person, Count William Lewis of Nassau. As the result of these conversations another Conference between the two parties was arranged which was destined to be the last meeting between them until they met under very different conditions at the Synod of Dort.[2] Three representatives of either party were to meet at Delft in February 1613, and Festus Hommius was not without hope of peace if the Arminians did not go beyond the five points of their Remonstrance. The failure of the previous Conference and the events that followed it had not, however, made the task any easier. The contention of the Remonstrants was that they agreed with the Contra-Remonstrants on the fundamentals of Christianity, and that both parties might readily tolerate the disputed doctrines which had been expounded in the Remonstrance and the Calvinist reply. Hitherto the States of Holland had supported the Remonstrants in this contention.[3] On the other hand, the Contra-Remonstrants were determined to bring the disputed points to a Representative Synod for decision, in which the theory of mutual toleration was likely to receive short shrift. Their leaders in general, and those of Amsterdam in particular, endeavoured to secure a

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 276–7.
[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, V, 1; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 182.
[3] Trigland, p. 611.

deputation from all the provinces powerful enough to compel the States to allow a National Synod to be called. The States of Holland would not at that time even allow the annual meetings of the Synods of North and South Holland to be held, so that the election of a representative deputation from those provinces was impossible. The other provincial Synods sent duly appointed representatives with the exception of Utrecht, which was unsympathetic, and was in the midst of forming its new ecclesiastical constitution.

Fourteen preachers met at the Hague on September 25th, 1612, and presented to the States-General their petition for a National Synod, promised for many years. Fontanus of Zutphen, who along with William Baudart represented Gelderland, was the spokesman; the other provinces had two representatives each, and among them we recognize Cornelius Hillenius, formerly of Alkmaar, now of Groningen, Festus Hommius and two who called themselves Synod Deputies representing the Church of Amsterdam, namely Peter Plancius and John Hall.[1] The States-General asked for the authorization of each delegate and found that each came with the authority of the States of his own province with the exception of those from Holland and West Friesland. Utrecht also was not represented, although it had been willing to petition for a National Synod on condition that the *Catechism* and *Confession* were revised.[2] This gave the politicians their chance to postpone the Synod once more; there must be a unanimous appeal from the provinces for it, otherwise each province and town must decide the question for itself. This was the attitude of Barnevelt, and provoked Fontanus to declare that this involved the complete severance of Church and State.[3] Indeed Barnevelt had begun to look for religious peace in the direction that Cromwell looked for it in England forty years later. There were not wanting

[1] *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort*; Baudart, *Memoryen*, I, 91–4; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 117.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 103–4.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 118.

signs, however, that the rank and file of the States-General were beginning to be restless under this control, and it is significant that the preachers sent a deputation to Maurice and to his cousin William Lewis as well as to Barnevelt. The decision of the States in favour of further postponement was given on September 27th by Barnevelt in the presence of a dozen representative officials. It was not kindly received, and Fontanus and Fauckel went to Wtenbogaert to try to persuade him to use his influence in favour of a Synod. He was inclined to do so if they would agree to the revision of the symbols; some would have consented, but the majority declined.[1] He spent days and nights over the business, but soon discovered that there was no reality in the consent of the Calvinist leaders to a revision of the *Catechism* and the *Confession* by the Synod. Thysius agreed that there should be a revision, but no change was to be made.[2] Such a concession was hardly likely to lead to compromise. It was at this point that Count William Lewis and Scultetus intervened.

The Contra-Remonstrants were afraid of political influence at the Hague; they agreed to meet for this final Conference at Delft, and sent as their representatives Festus Hommius, Bogardus and Becius, pastors of the Churches in Leiden, Haarlem and Dordrecht respectively. On the Arminian side were Wtenbogaert, Grevinchoven and van den Borre. They met on February 27th, 1613,[3] with the full approval of the States of Holland, who were not without hope that a reduced number of preachers might the more speedily find the way of peace. At the suggestion of Festus Hommius, proceedings were to be oral only, but at the close of the day he asked that each side should commit its debates to writing. The Remonstrants wished throughout to keep strictly to the question whether the views set forth in their five points could be tolerated in the Reformed Churches. Their opponents

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 120–21.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 193.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 122 f.; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 184–7; Baudart, *Memoryen*, V, 1; Trigland, pp. 642–51.

wished them to speak for all other Arminians, and were of the opinion that many more heresies were being propagated besides those of the five points. Bogardus was even unwilling to concede any toleration to the five points themselves. In the morning the Remonstrants were confronted with a lengthy document of thirty-six Articles on which they were suspected of heresy. They were given six or eight weeks in which to secure satisfactory answers from their followers to these inquiries. The whole proceedings were supposed to be confidential, yet the document was in circulation the same day, and printed shortly after. New heresies were thus fastened on the Arminians with the additional stigma that they were extremely reluctant to disclose their real opinions. The Conference broke up to investigate the Articles. Wtenbogaert considered that the Contra-Remonstrants had behaved as unreasonably as Luther at Marburg, when he refused to discuss the Lord's Supper with Zwingli before he had surveyed the other heresies of his fellow-reformer.[1]

The States of Holland met before the Conference could be resumed and took the view of Wtenbogaert. They considered it neither useful nor necessary to stir up new discussions. The Calvinists considered that they were not raising new points. They fell back on the States' declaration of December 1611, when it was laid down that there was to be no teaching concerning the Atonement, Justification, Saving Faith, Original Sin, the Assurance of Salvation and Perfection in this life. They believed that they had good documentary evidence from Vorstius, Bertius, Corvinus and Venator which challenged the orthodox position of the Reformed Churches on these subjects. Men had denied that Christ bore the anger of God for men's sin in His life and death, they had said that men could be saved by faith with no knowledge of the Person of Christ, had implied that it was possible for sinful man to do actions which did not merit punishment, and had even

[1] *Defence of States of Holland*, p. 194; cf. Regenboog, *Historie der Remonstranten*, I, 121–6.

denied that the whole nature of unborn children was sinful.[1] If these views were permitted to spread it was impossible to say what the end would be. The States received reports of the Conference from both Festus Hommius and Wtenbogaert, and required the three Contra-Remonstrants who had been present at Delft to find a way of peace on the basis of the five points, and to put their thirty-six Articles aside.[2] Mutual Toleration was now the watchword of the States of Holland, but the deputies of the towns of Amsterdam, Dort and Enkhuizen wished to discuss the subject first of all with their constituents. Politicians might think such a phrase as mutual toleration to be a satisfactory solution, but was it possible for Christ and Belial to tolerate each other ?[3] This was the rock on which the vessel was destined to founder. No reply was received from the three Calvinist delegates of the Delft Conference for eight months, and then it was to demand again that they should have their thirty-six Articles cleared up. The last Conference had proved as great a failure as any that preceded it.

The same meeting of the States of Holland and West Friesland, in March 1613, had forbidden any preachers of these provinces to call themselves Synod Deputies without the authority of the States themselves. The States of Gelderland at this time followed the lead of Holland in refusing to allow the annual Synod gatherings in that province. This was alleged to have been done at the instigation of Wtenbogaert.[4] His opponents may have exaggerated the extent of his influence, but in any case the wisdom of checking the regular meetings of church courts may well be questioned. It was unlikely that such assemblies would be haunts of sacred peace, but they were at least safety valves for a community that was near the boiling point of excitement. Wtenbogaert was happier in restraining the extremists of his

[1] Trigland, pp. 644–6.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 129; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 188; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

[3] Trigland, p. 655.

[4] Baudart, *Memoryen*, V, 2.

own party. Bertius would have thrown the *Heidelberg Catechism* overboard altogether.[1] What an opening that would have given to the adversary! It was no easy team that Wtenbogaert had to handle. Vorstius was quite impracticable; still Wtenbogaert kept loyally to the task of cheering his despondency by letters, admitting to other correspondents that his call to Leiden had been a mistake, but saying that even Scultetus believed that Vorstius was free from heresy then.[2] Wtenbogaert himself had never read the works of Socinus and abominated the Unitarian view of the person of Christ, believing that all the Remonstrants agreed with him on the subject. It was a pity that violence had been used at Alkmaar and Rotterdam, but it was the magistrates who were responsible for that.

Popular Calvinism was, however, ready to credit the Arminians with any treason or heresy. The little *Gouda Catechism*, which consisted entirely of words of Scripture, was compared by the orthodox to the Koran. The Remonstrants were said to be in the pay of Spain, and at some earlier date Wtenbogaert and Arminius were declared to have been promised cardinal's hats by the Pope if they would act as his agents.[3] This may explain why Episcopius and Corvinus should be insulted in the streets of Amsterdam on their way to hear Trigland and Plancius preach, but it cannot be the reason why the Amsterdam preachers should refuse to meet the Arminians at dinner.[4] Educated men cannot have believed such libels, but they could display a good deal of intolerance when strong feeling moved them. Wtenbogaert had been with the Arminians when the Calvinists refused to meet them at dinner; his next visit to Amsterdam was marked by even greater unfriendliness. He went there in February 1613 to be present at the baptism of the child of his stepson, William Lindeman. Plancius conducted the service, and altered one question as it stood in the Baptismal Form

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 205.

[2] Ibid., No. 202.

[3] Ibid., No. 202.

[4] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 42; cf. Regenboog, *Hist. der Rem.*, I, 131–4.

adopted by the National Synod in 1586, and in general use in the Reformed Churches. Instead of asking the parents and witnesses whether they acknowledged the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testaments, and in the Articles of the Christian Faith, and accordingly taught in the Christian Church to be the complete doctrine of salvation, he used the words "as *here* taught." Wtenbogaert did not notice the change, and his answer in the affirmative was immediately interpreted as a recantation of his views of Predestination. He considered it to be no better than a trap, and expressed his indignation to the magistrates of Amsterdam against such alterations of the formulary.[1]

Shortly afterwards Episcopius went to Amsterdam on a similar errand. He avoided Plancius, but fell into the hands of van der Heijden, who baptized his brother's child on April 2nd, 1613. This preacher made the same alteration that Plancius had made, but Episcopius was prepared and answered that he accepted that doctrine as true which agreed with the Scriptures and the articles of belief as expressed in the Order for Baptismal Services. His brother agreed to this answer; whereupon van der Heijden reproved Episcopius as a bold and insolent young man. Apparently he pretended not to recognize the distinguished Leiden professor. Five other preachers who were present continued the service, but all refused to speak to Episcopius at the close, and as he left the church he was roughly pulled about by a crowd, among whom the women were most aggressive in insults.[2] He turned back to the font, where the preachers were still discussing the scene. They refused to give him any protection; it was the verger's business, was the excuse Trigland gave in his narrative.[3] Trigland was present, and said that only one of the preachers knew Episcopius. Episcopius, on the other hand, thought that the presence

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 229 f.; *Brieven Wten.*, No. 143; Limborch, *Historia*, p. 45.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 127–8; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 231; Trigland, pp. 660–63; Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, pp. 46–7.

[3] Trigland, p. 662.

of so many preachers was itself a sign of their knowledge that he would be there. Hall asked him if he considered that to be a Christian Church. Episcopius considered that a very strange question, as he had come for the very purpose of Christian baptism; but that did not imply that he accepted all that was taught in that Church as true. The next day the burgomasters summoned Episcopius to explain the disturbances at this baptism. He made a very spirited defence of his action and apparently satisfied the strongly Calvinist magistrates that he had good conscientious reasons for his reply. He made it clear that he had no quarrel with the *Catechism* or any fundamental doctrines, but that certain Amsterdam preachers were daily making sermons against the Arminians and fomenting party rage. All this was contrary to the States' Resolutions in favour of mutual toleration.[1] Nevertheless, Episcopius must have been glad to get home to Leiden again; during this visit a partisan blacksmith chased him down the road with a red-hot iron, crying out in his religious ardour, "You Arminian, you disturber of the Church."[2]

Reports of this incident were so widely spread and so exaggerated that, as Episcopius himself said, it might have had as much significance for the United Provinces as the presence of Hannibal at her gates had for Rome.[3] Winwood considered it of such importance as to send a detailed account to James I. Perhaps he considered it the more necessary to keep the King informed on the subject of Arminian turbulence as it was well known that the Arminians were doing their best to modify his majesty's zeal against them. Wtenbogaert had made a translation of the five articles of the Remonstrants for the benefit of the King, and entrusted it to Caron when he was home on furlough in the previous December. Conversations which were then held between Barnevelt, Caron and Wtenbogaert led to the letters of James I to the States of Holland and the States-General in which

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 131.
[2] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 50.
[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 208.

the hand of Wtenbogaert may be traced.[1] The letter to the States-General was written from Newmarket on March 6th, 1613, in French. The King declared that he had found by experience that religious differences were seldom settled by conferences of divines. The only way of peace was to forbid disputes in the pulpit, and to insist on mutual toleration of the controverted subjects. It was clear to him from Caron's account that the ideas of neither party were so far astray (*égaré*) as not to consist with the truth of the Christian faith and the salvation of men's souls.[2] The letter to the States of Holland and West Friesland at the end of the month was similarly worded. This was a great stroke of policy by the Arminian party, and they followed it up by making the most of the presence of Grotius in England during the months that followed. The States of Holland were frankly pleased with the King's letter, but the reply of the States-General was much more guarded.[3]

Grotius was in London from March 31st to May 27th.[4] He was now about thirty years of age, and the most promising of the younger statesmen of his country. He had recently been made Pensionary of Rotterdam on the death of Elias Barnevelt. If he had been trained in the school of the elder Barnevelt in politics, he had no less been trained in the school of Wtenbogaert in ecclesiastical affairs. In his youth he had lived with the Court Chaplain for months together. His precocious scholarship had long made him well known to men of erudition like Casaubon, who was now spending his declining years in London. His interest in church history made him the welcome guest of men like Overal, Dean of St. Paul's, and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely. To none was the rare combination of scholar, statesman and ecclesiastic more welcome than to the King himself. Grotius had come to London over the business of commercial treaties between the two countries. Armini-

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 202.
[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 206; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 124.
[3] Trigland, p. 657.
[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 205.

anism, however, seemed to have loomed larger in his view than the East Indies or the Dutch fishing rights.

It is interesting to contrast the effect of the brilliant gifts of Grotius on different individuals. Grotius and Casaubon "saw each other daily."[1] The old scholar could not express the happiness he felt in this intercourse. "I knew him before to be a wonderful man; but the superiority of that divine genius no one can properly appreciate without seeing his countenance and hearing his conversation. Integrity is stamped on his face; in his talk is exhibited the union of exquisite learning and genuine piety. Nor is it I only who am so taken with our visitor; all the learned and good who have been introduced to him have fallen under the spell, and the King more than anyone."[2] Archbishop Abbott, who, by means of Winwood's reports, kept the Contra-Remonstrant fire burning at Court, gives a very different account of him. "Take heed how you trust Dr. Grotius too far," he says in a letter to Winwood dated June 1st, 1613; "at his first coming to the King, by reason of his good Latin tongue, he was so tedious and full of tittle-tattle that the King's judgment of him was that he was some Pedant full of words and of no great Judgment. And I myself discovering that to be his habit, as if he did imagine that every man was bound to hear him so long as he would talk (which is a great Burthen to men replete with Business), did privately give him notice thereof that he should plainly and directly deliver his mind or else he would make the King weary of him."[3] The Archbishop added that Casaubon took him to dinner with the Bishop of Ely, where he talked so much that Dr. Steward considered him a smatterer. Moreover, at his farewell to the King, Grotius expressed his admiration for the English Church and his opinion of the Bishop of Ely's views on Final Perseverance; wherein, according to the Archbishop, he succeeded in annoying both King and Bishop. What was most objectionable in

[1] *Ep. Grotii*, No. 184.
[2] *Ep. Casauboni*, No. 881, quoted Pattison, op. cit., p. 307.
[3] Winwood, *Memorials*, III, 459; cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 133.

the remarks of Grotius was his declaration that the Puritans of England corresponded to the Contra-Remonstrants of Holland. Archbishop Abbott was able to correct that unfair parallel to his own satisfaction, yet Grotius had touched a sore spot. At that very moment the English Puritan, William Ames, an exile from his own country, was in fierce controversy with the Arminians of Rotterdam,[1] while the Contra-Remonstrants were as unyielding to State pressure on religious subjects as ever the Puritans were; it was merely the fact that they formed a majority that saved them from the fate of Puritan extremists in England. Grotius, however, was not merely content with the political aspect of the Arminian controversy; he discussed the Arminian theology with the Defender of the Faith in its detail. He considered that his proof-texts convinced King James, and that their discussion on the difference between the application and the acquisition of salvation was most enlightening. He illustrated the Arminian doctrine of Universal Grace by a General Pardon which Parliament might proclaim, yet every man had to come in and claim the benefit for himself. Trigland is very scornful at his expense. He would claim to have made James I an Arminian! Winwood said that the Contra-Remonstrants were no Puritans, and he should know the Puritans better than Grotius, since he was born and bred in England.[2] We may believe that Grotius was clever, subtle and persuasive so long as he was with the King; but as soon as the Abbott-Winwood influences returned all the ground was lost.

In August 1613 Winwood himself finished his career as Ambassador at the Hague. There can be no doubt that few tears were shed by Barnevelt over his departure, yet it was in his power to be as dangerous an opponent of Arminianism as Secretary of State as ever he had been in Holland.[3] Moreover, in the person of Sir Dudley Carleton he secured a successor who maintained the continuity of British policy only too well. Dean Overal

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 205. [2] Trigland, pp. 666–70.
[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 206.

sent Grotius home with a kind letter from which it is clear that the English Church was not completely Calvinistic in its theology at that time.[1] Unsuccessful though Grotius was in his main object, it is from this period that we begin to discern the first glimmerings of an English Arminian school of thought.

The first duty of the statesman philosopher on his return was to defend the States of Holland against the charge of impious disregard for religion, by the encouragement thay had given to heretics within the State. Sibrandus Lubbertus of Franeker had brought these charges not only against the States of Holland but against the Curators of Leiden University in a book dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The book was directed against ninety-nine errors of Vorstius, but the dedicatory epistle contained the offensive charges. The ruling statesmen at the Hague were not merely annoyed by the defence of complete ecclesiastical independence but by the unpatriotic appeals to foreign interference in domestic questions. The Remonstrants were, it is true, not entirely innocent of such a charge, but the mission of Grotius to England had been defensive. As the official mouthpiece of the States, Grotius published, in September 1613, a clever defence both of State oversight of ecclesiastical affairs in general, and the zeal for religion displayed by the States of Holland in particular. It was entitled *Ordinum Hollandiæ ac Westfrisiæ Pietas ab improbissimis multorum calumniis . . . vindicata*, and was translated from the Latin into Dutch by Wtenbogaert.[2] It is not a big book, but its ability and style commanded the admiration of Casaubon, though he regretted that the genius of his friend should be occupied with these bitter controversies. With his knowledge of Church History, Grotius had little difficulty in showing how far the State had been able to support the Church in times of religious dissension. There was good precedent for the toleration of Arminian views

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 210.

[2] *Brieven Wten.*, Nos. 149–51; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 254; Trigland, p. 670.

on predestination. Moreover, he retaliated on the High Calvinist party by declaring that Flanders had been lost to the United Provinces through their intolerance.[1] Other publications followed from both sides, among which an anonymous *Bona fides Sibrandi Lubbertii* carried the war vigorously into the enemy's country; the controversy was brought to an end by a resolution of the States of Holland in October 1614.[2]

The Conference of Delft had failed, and it was the heavy task of the Government to search for some new way of peace. They could suggest nothing more original than mutual toleration on the disputed points, in spite of the opposition of Amsterdam and Dordrecht. Festus Hommius made a tentative approach to Barnevelt through Rosaeus, the Calvinist colleague of Wtenbogaert at the Hague. His suggestion was that the present Remonstrant preachers should accept the *Catechism* and the *Confession* as symbols of the unity of the Church, and should submit other questions to the general judgment of the Synod; students newly entering the University were not to be allowed this large measure of liberty. This concession amounted to nothing at all, as Wtenbogaert was not slow to point out.[3] In spite of this new anxiety for peace the Calvinists were busy finding new charges against the Arminians, and in November 1613 they presented them to the States of Holland along with their reply to the States' question of the previous March as to the possibility of mutual toleration. This reply had been slow in appearing, and was far from satisfactory when it arrived. As the authorities were just then drawing up their scheme for the peace of the Church, they allowed these documents to lie on the table, and ordered publications concerning the Delft Conference to cease. Grotius and Wtenbogaert were the chief advisers of Barnevelt in this

[1] *Pietas*, pp. 25–39, 123–4; cf. *Epis. Præst. Vir.*, No. 224; Le Clerc, *Hist.* VIII, 293.

[2] Cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 216, 223, 231, 238, 239; Trigland, p. 672; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VI, 4; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 255.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 189.

difficult task, but they were encouraged by the fact that the majority of the provinces wanted some formula of union to be found. The statement which Grotius drew up and annotated with Scripture quotations was discussed by the States of Holland in November, and finally adopted in January 1614. It was accepted by the representatives of nearly all the towns, and after some alterations in the phrasing even the strongly Contra-Remonstrant town of Dordrecht agreed to it. Amsterdam, Enkhuizen and Edam held out to the end, and in March 1614 still sent back a stubborn reply, but were contented if other towns wished to put the plan into operation.[1]

On paper the scheme seemed a very hopeful one. It followed the lines of the Utrecht resolutions of 1612, which kept the peace there until the Synod of Dort. It condemned extreme teachings on the subject of Election, whether it were the predestinarian extreme by which God compelled men to sin, or the Pelagian extreme by which men could work out their own salvation by their own natural strength. The Hague Conference of 1611 was supposed to have provided the basis of what followed. Men were exhorted to be modest in their manner of teaching, and to let the people understand that "the beginning, progress and end of our salvation, and particularly our Faith, is not to be ascribed to the natural strength and operation of man, but only to the undeserved grace of God in Christ Jesus our Saviour; that Almighty God has made no man for perdition, compelled none to sin, nor does invite anyone to salvation to whom He has absolutely decreed not to grant it."[2] In Universities and ministerial gatherings discussions on the disputed points of Calvinism might be continued, but they should be excluded from the pulpits. In public, preachers should on that subject go no further than in affirming that "God Almighty has from all eternity, according to His good pleasure, founded on Christ Jesus our Saviour, elected to

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 139–40; Trigland, pp. 672–80; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VI, 2–3; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 207 ff.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 226.

everlasting salvation those who, through the unmerited grace and operation of the Holy Ghost, do believe in our Lord Jesus, and persevere to the end in the same faith, through the like unmerited grace; and on the contrary that God has rejected to destruction those who will not believe in Christ Jesus and persevere in the same unbelief to the end." At least the States would protect preachers who could not go further in the predestinarian way than that statement implied. The States considered such teaching to be sufficient for salvation and Christian edification. On other subjects the teaching of the Reformed Churches, as it followed the Holy Scriptures, was to be expounded. The trouble with Amsterdam and other towns was partly that this was considered a poor truncated form of the Gospel of the grace of God. Partly, also, that the source was suspected. Plancius and Trigland would hesitate a long time before they touched anything coming from Barnevelt, Grotius and Wtenbogaert. "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes" was their motto. Moreover, however good the counsel might have been, it came with the wrong authority. It should be the Declaration of the Synod, and not of the States. Grotius might ingeniously affirm that the Hague Conference was equivalent to a Synod, but his real doctrine came out in his apology. "The doctrine of Protestants has always been that the Government has sufficient authority, in itself, to command all that is agreeable to truth, reason and equity."[1] It was one of the achievements of Calvinism that it succeeded in correcting this doctrine. Many of the Remonstrants considered this important resolution to be too colourless, but were willing to abide by it loyally. Barnevelt said to the towns that held out, "Since neither original nor amended resolutions please you, make your own resolution; but this strife must be ended." They, however, wanted no resolution, but a National Synod, which should remove the tares from among the wheat.[2] At a later date the Contra-Remonstrants argued that the resolutions never got beyond the proposal stage. This misstates the case,

[1] Grotius, *Apology*, VI, 58.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 207.

although it is true that the States were never able to enforce their decree of mutual toleration in towns which opposed it.[1] There was indeed some inconsistency in Barnevelt himself, who stood so definitely for provincial and local rights in political affairs, while endeavouring to settle the affairs of the Church by the central authority of the Government of the United Provinces. In July the States printed their resolution in Latin and Dutch, with comments from the Bible, the fathers and later church writers. Wtenbogaert made a French translation in 1616 for the benefit of the Walloon Churches.[2] This provoked an attack from F. de la Bassecourt entitled, *Réponse à quelques demandes*. Wtenbogaert was somewhat perplexed by a subtle question as to the sin of devils and their free will, on which he turned to Episcopius for help.[3] That was, however, a detail, and he replied with a whole-hearted *Defence of the Resolutions*, for which the Contra-Remonstrants never forgave him. He dedicated the volume to Prince Maurice and declared that he was willing, if necessary, to be the Jonah to be thrown overboard for the peace of the Church.[4] "What nonsense!" said Trigland, "he knew he was safe enough"; yet Jonah was overboard within two years, and the peace of the Church was not preserved.

There were moderate men in the Church who identified themselves with neither party. At Rotterdam were the preachers Francis and Samuel Lansbergen, father and son, who had tried to mediate between Calvinist and Arminian in 1612. They now endeavoured to use their influence in the Churches of South Holland to secure the cordial acceptance of the resolutions in favour of mutual toleration. Along with like-minded colleagues they visited several Classes and urged their brethren to follow the guidance of the provincial government. Gouda, the Hague and Brielle gave them a respectful hearing, but Gorcum bitterly opposed them. They had

[1] Wagenaar, *Ned. Historie*, X, 59–65; cf. *Hist. Introd. to Synod of Dort.*

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 208.

[3] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 170.

[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 213.

no representative authority, and were merely used by the Remonstrants as tools for their cunning devices. The Calvinists believed that their opponents were aiming at capturing the Presbyterians and admitting new men into the ministry of their own way of thinking.[1] These lovers of peace did not venture into the Amsterdam Presbytery, which in its own decisive manner denounced the mere idea of toleration. The Amsterdam preachers went back to the Old Testament. The orthodox Israelites were in the habit of slaying idolaters; Elijah made no truce with Baal. God would raise up a modern Gideon or Jehu against these modern Philistines, who were smuggling in Pelagianism by the back door. The Amsterdam preachers were the sentinels on the walls of Zion who never slumbered.[2]

In addition to the plan of toleration the States of Holland wished the Churches to adopt everywhere the scheme of Church Government which had been drafted in 1591. This gave the local magistrates a good deal of influence in the Church, and had many checks on the undue authority of the ministry. In particular invitations to ministers were to be given by a committee of eight in each town, consisting half of magistrates and half of representatives from the presbytery. On this subject the Contra-Remonstrants preferred to argue from the New rather than from the Old Testament. They rightly considered that the fact that Christ was the Head of the Church was a more hopeful beginning than the relations existing between the kings and priests of Israel.[3] It was at Haarlem that the attempt to enforce this method of Church Government eventually led to a complete schism in the Church.

These troubles were the cause of great anxiety to Barnevelt, but he was far more occupied with the sinister developments of the Counter-Reformation, and the alarming weakness of the Protestant Powers. He was the one statesman of Protestantism who foresaw the

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 228; Trigland, pp. 622, 686; *Hist. Introd. to Synod of Dort.*

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 229.

[3] Trigland, pp. 702–17.

dangers, and his country was the one reliable stronghold against the aggressive policy of Spain and the Empire.[1] Spain had been recovering power during the years of peace, and the policy of the Empire was coming more and more into the hands of those two capable brothers Ferdinand of Styria and Maximilian of Bavaria, who were setting themselves the task of removing Protestantism from the Empire, and if possible, from Europe itself. Germany was asleep, France was no longer to be relied on as an ally against Spain, England was the victim of the timid and selfish policy of James I, and the Scandinavian Kingdoms seemed at that time to be too remote to count in the approaching struggle. The Jülich-Cleve territory was the gateway to the United Provinces, and had been handed over to the rival claimants, Neuburg and Brandenburg, both of whom were Protestants. All this was changed, however, in 1614 by the fact that the Prince of Neuburg married the sister of Ferdinand and Maximilian and became a Catholic. Friction between the two parties became intense, and attempts were made on either side to seize important strongholds. The Neuburgers held Düsseldorf, while the Brandenburgers occupied Jülich, the most important stronghold in the territory. The States-General sympathized with the Protestant party and placed a garrison of 1,000 infantry and some cavalry in Jülich.[2] This was regarded by Spain as a breach of the truce, and in August 1614 a large army under Spinola was sent into the territory. Maurice was sent by the States-General with 14,000 foot and 3,000 horse against him. There was no declaration of war, and apparently no intention of a renewal of the conflict between the United Provinces and Spain. The result was a curious rehearsal of the Thirty Years' War, in which Spinola occupied important Protestant centres like Aachen and Wesel, while Maurice manœuvred in his neighbourhood, content that Jülich remained in Protestant hands. Neuburg and Brandenburg joined the forces of Spinola and Maurice respectively, and in December 1614 a treaty was made at Xanten by which

[1] Cf. Motley, *John of Barneveld*, chap. xi. [2] Ibid., I, 297.

the territory was divided equally between them. Nominally Cleve and neighbouring territory went to Neuburg, while Brandenburg held Jülich and some other lands; in reality one territory was garrisoned by Spain and the Empire, and the other by the United Provinces, until the Thirty Years' War should find other solutions. Wtenbogaert was the only reformed preacher with the troops of the Provinces in this campaign, and he spent an uncomfortable three months under Maurice in the neighbourhood of Rees, returning to the Hague at the beginning of December. A letter of his to the States Secretary is in existence, giving the details of his out-of-pocket expenses on this campaign, "for," says he, "our text, as well as yours, holds good, 'No man fighteth a warfare at his own charge.'"[1] This campaign brought little credit to the United Provinces. The loss of a stronghold of Calvinism like Wesel was felt to be a serious blow, and some unpopularity fell in consequence on Barnevelt and Wtenbogaert, who were suspected of being friendly to Spanish interests. The correspondence of the great statesman shows the falsity of the charge, but we can partly understand it by the remembrance of similar charges made against Allied politicians during the dark days of the Great War. There is reason to believe that the animosity of Prince Maurice to Barnevelt had not yet developed; he is said to have put aside the warnings of his elder brother, Philip William, by declaring his complete belief in the honesty and loyalty of the Advocate.[2]

A more dangerous opponent of Barnevelt now appeared at the Hague in the person of d'Aerssens, who had been for years the Ambassador of the States at Paris. He had long outstayed his welcome there since the death of Henry IV, and was withdrawn at the urgent request of the French Government. "If in spite of us you throw him at our feet," they said, "we shall fling him back at

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 169; cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 239; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 286.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 148.

your head."[1] He considered that Barnevelt, who had first given him a start in the service of the State, was responsible for his withdrawal, and was now back at the Hague to oppose Barnevelt, the new French Ambassador, du Maurier, and his own successor at Paris, Asperen van Langerac, to the best of his ability. Baron Langerac was a man of little previous experience, and he received detailed instructions on the duties of an ambassador from Barnevelt, and in the history of the doctrine of Free Will in the Church from Grotius. The latter epistle was really intended for the Calvinist preacher du Moulin, who was then hoping for a closer co-operation between all the Protestant Churches, and went over to London in 1615 to interview King James I on the subject.[2] He actually prepared a scheme for a Conference in Zeeland between representatives of all the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in order to lay their respective Confessions on the table and find a common basis of belief and action. He was not without hope that differences on the subject of Predestination might be accommodated as well as those on the Lord's Supper, which had been discussed at Marburg nearly a hundred years before. He did not aim at complete unity of Church Government and belief, but such a basis of union as might allow the Protestants to call themselves no longer Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans, but the Christian Reformed Churches, and forbear to indulge in controversy with each other. Grotius in his letter to Paris wanted the Charenton minister to learn that the Augustinian Articles of Protestant confessions did not allow enough scope for the views of the fathers of the first four centuries. In addition to his defence of the orthodoxy of free will Grotius maintained the authority of the Christian State over the Church.[3] In spite of the fact that James I was in favour of the project, it seemed to expire as soon as it was put down in writing. Du Moulin, although a strong Calvinist who could outrage Casaubon by calling

[1] Quoted Motley, *John of Barneveld*, I, 369.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 250; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 153.
[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 257.

Cyprian an Anabaptist, was at bottom a lover of peace. His Contra-Remonstrant friends in Holland did not approve of these fantasies and took the opportunity at a later date of bringing him back to the narrow way of Amsterdam.[1]

The Province of Holland was of such strength and importance that the other provinces are apt to be overlooked. This would be a fatal mistake in the study of the religious history of the United Provinces, for it was in the North-East and the South-West that Calvinism in its purity was to be found. The fishermen of Zeeland were too close to the Spanish provinces to be other than extremists. In the North-East Count William Lewis was Stadholder, and was the staunchest supporter of orthodoxy among the nobles. It was natural therefore that at Groningen a new University should be established, the main object of which was to preserve the purity of the faith of the Reformed Churches. It was opened in August 1614, and at a later date (1618) received as its theological professor Gomarus, the colleague and antagonist of Arminius.[2] Leiden could no longer be trusted to supply the pure milk of the Gospel. The result on Episcopius and Polyander was that they agreed to work as harmoniously together as possible lest Leiden should suffer from thi new rivalry.[3] Leiden was, indeed, comparatively peaceful. Bertius had resigned his position as Regent of the Theological Faculty and had turned to the less dangerous subject of philosophy. He was succeeded by G. J. Vossius from the Latin School of Dordrecht, an old pupil of Gomarus, who had moved towards the Arminian position. He was a friend of Grotius, son-in-law of Francis Junius, at least the equal of Bertius in scholarship and his superior in judgment.[4] Festus Hommius was

[1] For scheme cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 154–7; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 270.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, VI, 23.

[3] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 79.

[4] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 153; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 328; *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 230, 231, 247, 266.

always at hand to keep an eye on the doctrines taught in the University, and himself gave some lectures in homiletics. Yet a balance was preserved in the Churches of the city between the two parties as well as in the theological school, and a pattern provided which might well have been copied elsewhere. The States' resolutions on mutual toleration were accepted; in the Consistory an equal number of elders of each party was elected, and the ministers were equally divided between the two schools of thought. In 1615 Festus Hommius agreed to the call of Bernard Dwinglo, an Arminian minister, while later on in the year Herman Kuchlin, a brother-in-law of Festus, was also called to preserve the equilibrium.[1]

If Leiden found for the time being a way of peace, other towns were not so fortunate. At Hoorn on the Zuider Zee, then at the height of its prosperity, there were two Remonstrant and one Contra-Remonstrant minister. The usual strife took place between the two parties, until in 1613 the Calvinist preacher, John Rogge, persuaded the magistrates to invite Amsterdam preachers and others to join the Hoorn Classis in an examination of his colleagues' errors. Doctors such as Plancius called in to heal the patient were inclined to use drastic measures. The Hoorn Classis was checked by a letter from the States of Holland in April 1614, ordering them not to expel any of their preachers, nor to call in outsiders to their assemblies, and to meet regularly in the town of Hoorn itself. This intervention was due to an appeal from the new burgomasters who had come into office at Easter.[2] Against this assertion of State authority the Classis protested to the burgomasters of Hoorn, who tried to find a new way of peace by means of a joint meeting of lay and ecclesiastical representatives. This proved unacceptable, and as the Church Consistory was equally unresponsive, the magistrates secured the resignation of the elders and deacons, and appointed a new college

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 174, 175; Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 52.

[2] Trigland, pp. 834–6; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 322–3; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 142–3.

from a double list presented by the Church. This led to the refusal of Rogge to act with his colleagues and with the new Consistory. In reality he dismissed himself, and his place was taken by a strong Arminian in the person of D. Sapma.[1] There was now a complete schism. The disaffected Calvinists met in a private house and called in visiting preachers Sunday by Sunday. The Hoorn Classis refused to meet with the Arminian preachers and appealed to the other Classes of North Holland as to the legality of the call of Sapma. The reply from all the other four Classes was against its legality.[2] Amsterdam was not content to leave the matter to the ecclesiastical gatherings; it was brought up in the Town Council. Could Amsterdam give any help to the persecuted Church at Hoorn? The burgomaster, C. P. Hooft, father of the famous poet, pointed out the inconsistency of such an attitude. Amsterdam was the first to protest against the interference of secular authority in ecclesiastical affairs, and stood up boldly for independence. Now it contemplated not merely intervening in the business of a Church, but of a Church of another town.[3] However, his was a voice crying in the wilderness: already he had achieved unpopularity by opposing magistrates who were using their position, during the rapid growth of the city, to their own profit. He was shortly afterwards removed from office. The Hoorn schismatics became so strong that they were able to call a preacher of their own, who settled in the town on September 1616, and the magistrates were unable to check this open division of the Reformed Church into contending factions.

In Haarlem similar results appeared, but the occasion of them was different. It was the application of the 1591 Church order that caused the trouble there. The town had six ministers, some of whom were Arminians and some Calvinist. The Consistory, or Church Session,

[1] Trigland, p. 839; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 144.

[2] Trigland, p. 840.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 149–51. For his learning and attitude in Church affairs see his *Memorien en Advizen* (Utrecht Historical Society).

considered that a scheme of Church Government which divided the control between State and Church was unscriptural, and appealed against it to the Churches of North Holland, when the States of Holland wished it to be adopted. Yet when one of the ministers died at the end of 1614, and another retired through age, the magistrates proceeded to nominate two candidates for one vacancy, while the Consistory nominated four for the other. The majority of the Church, along with one of the preachers, Adrian Jacobson Tethrode, objected to this procedure. Nevertheless, in July 1615 the nominee of the Consistory was called, Daniel de Souter, a Contra-Remonstrant of no great qualities save as the writer of devotional booklets.[1] The magistrates were less successful with their nominees, but in the end secured Dionysius Spranckhuisen, who was duly transferred from the Classis of Dordrecht. He was a zealous Calvinist, but he had been called by the secular authority and approved of the 1591 Church order. He was therefore boycotted by de Souter and Tethrode as "a Wolf, a Hireling, and a Vagabond who had climbed up over the wall." They would not allow him to vote in the Consistory, nor would they meet him at the Lord's Table. At the end of October 1615 the Classis approved this opposition. The inevitable schism followed, with separate Church Courts and separate Tables. It is said that of 3,000 Communicants only 600 came to the Sacrament administered by the regular ministry. Efforts at making peace continued throughout 1616 and 1617 at the instigation both of the town magistrates and the States of Holland, but there was no unity until the enforced unity that followed the Synod of Dort. Tethrode did not live to see that solution which would have been so much to his mind; he died in July 1618, and a crowd of over a thousand of his fellow townsmen followed his body to the grave. He had been left an orphan at an early age, was educated by the town, and was even more the alumnus of Haarlem than Arminius

[1] Trigland, pp. 821–5; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 326; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 1.

was of Amsterdam or Wtenbogaert of Utrecht.[1] So little was the plan of mutual toleration gaining ground that similar events were taking place over all Holland. Oudewater, the birthplace of Arminius, had risen from its ashes and was again flourishing. It was as disinclined as Haarlem to approve of secular interference in church affairs, and appealed to Amsterdam for guidance. John Lydius, the son of the old Franeker professor, was the Contra-Remonstrant leader there.[2] In the same area at Gouda, a little to the west, and at Schoonhoven, a little to the south, were similar troubles. These were places where the Remonstrants were in power and their doctrines provoked the formation of separate conventicles. The Schoonhoven preacher was even said to have encouraged the use of images, and to have improved on the Scriptures by saying that it was impossible for the disciples to doubt Christ's Resurrection when he was preaching on Matt. xxviii, 17. Attempts were made to suppress schism by force in the sacred name of toleration. No town was more zealously Arminian than Kampen in Overyssel, and it succeeded in getting rid of its Calvinist preachers during 1615 and 1616.[3]

The growth of organized parties in so many places, and the steady widening of the cleavage between them, led to the determination of the Contra-Remonstrants to act together throughout the Seven Provinces. In the summer of 1615 over thirty preachers met at Amsterdam and decided to meet annually for discussion and corporate action. This was in reality the formation of a Synod and contrary to the decrees of the States. They also resolved that Amsterdam was to be regarded as the mother Church, and should invite representatives from the other provinces. This was done, and a miniature National Synod was held at Amsterdam on September 5th

[1] Trigland, pp. 826–34; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 182–3—with important letters of burgomaster van der Lane on the subject. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 268.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 1–3; Trigland, pp. 772–4.

[3] Cf. Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 4–6; Trigland, pp. 786–90; *Hist. Introd. to Acts of Synod of Dort.*

which consisted of nine preachers, representing six of the provinces. The Remonstrant historians are agreed that this marks a decisive phase of the movement of the Netherlands Reformed Church towards schism. Wtenbogaert regarded it as the introduction of the Grecian horse within the walls of Troy.[1] It was apparently decided that any further appeal to the States for a National Synod was useless ; the real appeal was to the Protestant public at home and abroad. A committee was appointed to draw up a statement of their situation for foreign consumption, and it was apparently resolved that all idea of compromise must now be abandoned.[2] This will explain the new confidence that marked the proceedings of the Contra-Remonstrant party at the Hague, at Rotterdam, and in many other places in the country.

It was nearer home, however, that their operations began. At the very time of their meeting a dispute had sprung up in the Walloon Church of Amsterdam which ultimately led to the silencing of their much-respected minister, Simon Goulart. In most of the larger towns there were separate French-speaking congregations with French-speaking ministers. As a rule these Walloons were as severely Calvinist in their theology as their Huguenot brethren in France. They had doubts as to the wisdom of sending their students to Leiden University owing to the teaching of Episcopius, who agreed with the Jesuits on the subject of Predestination if in nothing else.[3] There were, however, some of their preachers who favoured the Arminian theology, notably the brothers Charles Nielle of Utrecht and Henry Nielle of Rotterdam. In 1613 some of the Amsterdam ministers had wished to keep the ministrations of the latter to his own people, but on the appeal of the Rotterdam magistrates the Walloon Synod decided that in the interests of brotherly unity he should be regarded as a true member of the Synod and declared him to be well qualified to preach in all their

[1] *Epist. Grotii*, No. 64 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 338–40.
[2] Cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 166–7.
[3] *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 43.

churches.[1] This satisfactory result from the regular meeting of the Walloon Synod seems to show still more clearly that the silencing of the Synod of the Dutch Churches was a mistake. At the Hague Wtenbogaert had himself acted for a time as minister of the Walloon Church, and was in September 1615 at the meeting of the Walloon Synod at Utrecht.[2] His influence was, however, unable to correct the vigorous action of the Amsterdam Church against their minister.

Simon Goulart was a son of a Geneva preacher, and had served the Amsterdam Church faithfully for some years, when on Sunday, September 13th, he was provoked by a violent morning predestination sermon to an equally vigorous reply. Sunday afternoons were generally given up to exposition of the Catechism. Goulart had come to the section dealing with the crucifixion, and preached on Gal. iii, 13. His argument was that by the Cross the curse of Adam was removed from all mankind; but the universal blessing must be claimed by faith. "We must not imagine," he said, "that the gracious God has appointed by an absolute and unavoidable decree any infants even of believing parents from their mother's womb to the everlasting torments of hell. This rash and foolish notion is incompatible with the Word of God 'who willeth that all men should be saved' (1 Tim. ii, 4) and 'Who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe' (1 Tim. iv, 10)." Appealing to believing parents he said, "As often as you think of your children, or see them before your eyes, assure yourselves that Christ died for them, and that by His bitter sufferings and death upon the Cross He has done away the curse. And when they attain to years of discretion, instruct them in the same assurance, to the end that by laying hold of Christ and His blessing through faith, you and they may be joint partakers of everlasting life."[3] The warmth of this passage from so moderate a man as Goulart was evidently due to his aversion from the

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 135–6.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 270.
[3] See Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 157–8.

contrary views of the morning. His colleague summoned the Consistory to discuss this breach of the peace, and it was decided that Goulart should be suspended from preaching and administering the sacraments unless he recanted. He agreed (1) to apologize to the Church for the unnecessary warmth of his expressions, (2) to avoid attacking Contra-Remonstrant views in the future, and (3) to keep within the bounds of Melanchthon's doctrines.[1] This, however, was not sufficient. He was told that he must defend the doctrine that he had opposed, and this condition he naturally refused to accept. The Walloon Synod met a week later at Utrecht, but the action of the Consistory was not discussed there either because of the presence of Wtenbogaert or because the discussion between Goulart and the local Church Court was not ended. At the Middelburg Synod which followed it was decided that Goulart should be suspended until a National Synod was held. The Church called in his place, against the wish of the Synod, a violent Contra-Remonstrant, Fabricius de la Bassecourt, who had been a Roman Catholic priest and three times changed his Church in the interval. The thirteen years of moderation during which Goulart kept the peace with his Contra-Remonstrant brethren was now a greater offence than the outspoken declaration against the reprobation of the children of believing parents, and the Calvinist doctrine that Christ did not come into the world to save all men, but only some. He was given his stipend but not allowed to preach again, for after the Synod of Dort he was removed from his post altogether, and along with other Remonstrants banished from the country.[2] There can be no doubt that such high-handed action in the Walloon Church at Amsterdam was encouraged by their Dutch neighbours, for there were many who sympathized with their preacher and broke off their connection with their own communion from that time. At Hoorn also it was a few weeks after the Amsterdam meeting of Contra-

[1] Brandt in loc., and Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 84.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 166; cf. Wagenaar, X, 86–7.

Remonstrants that the schism really began by the opening of a private house as a meeting-place for the disaffected Calvinists.

Rotterdam was next chosen as a suitable battlefield on which this subject might be fought out. Grotius was now the chief official of the town, and the magistrates had strong Arminian sympathies. They had not been forgiven for expelling Geselius from their borders. One of the ministers was Grevinchoven, a vigorous opponent of Contra-Remonstrant doctrines whose sharp criticisms were much resented. He would pick out extreme statements of Calvinist preachers and hold them up to ridicule. In his exposition they taught that some men were made to be damned; that children of believers dying in infancy, and even after baptism, were hurried to everlasting torments; that he who has once believed aright may become hereafter a murderer and adulterer, and yet at the same moment remain a child of God; that God is in a very real sense the author of sin. These statements might be found in Calvinist writings or be fair deductions from them, but they did not tend to soften asperities as Grevinchoven held them up to the light of day.[1] His colleagues were more moderate, but inclined to the Arminian position. In consequence there were many members of the Rotterdam Church who refused to attend their preaching, and had begun to meet in conventicles of their own. The magistrates made the attempt to suppress this practice, and the Contra-Remonstrants turned to Amsterdam for help. At the end of October 1615 they sent a deputation to the magistrates, accompanied by Trigland, Festus Hommius, Rosaeus and others, asking that there should be an equal number of Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant ministers on condition that they did not meet at the Lord's Table together. Grotius pointed out that that was making the symbol of peace which Christ instituted a signal of battle for ever.[2] Trigland, who defended his theme that there could be no concord between Christ

[1] Cf. Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 168–9.

[2] *Epist. Grot.*, November 7th, 1615; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 336–8.

and Belial, was advised to return to Amsterdam. The magistrates could not admit the distinction between Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant; they said that they were prepared to accept the most suitable and devout ministers and elders whatever view they held on the subject of Predestination, if only they would live peaceably with their fellows. Another meeting was held at the beginning of November in which many charges were made against Grevinchoven. He had spoken contemptuously of the Catechism, he had said the reformed religion was not forty years old, he had maintained that it was possible to fulfil the Law, and had been guilty of other unpopular utterances. He made a satisfactory answer to these charges, but did not satisfy his critics, for they declared that they could never persuade the people to return and begged the magistrates to allow them to meet in their separate assemblies. This was refused. The magistrates spoke of the sterner methods that were employed in some of the Swiss Churches. The ministers were ordered to keep to the Scriptures, the *Catechism* and the *Confession*; the Consistory must labour for unity, and separate conventicles must cease.[1]

Another town which was full of controversy at this time was Breda, which is familiar to us in English history as the place at which Charles II made his conciliatory promises before the Restoration. It was governed by the eldest son of William the Silent, Prince Philip William, now returned from Spain after a long captivity, and a zealous Romanist. Moreover, it was very near to the dangerous frontier between the Spanish and the independent provinces, and might have been expected to display unity in the face of common danger. The clergy of the district were, however, of the narrowest type of Calvinist, and regarded Arminians as more dangerous than any Spaniards. Two of the preachers, Boxhorn and Diamantius, a brother-in-law of Gerard Vos of Leiden, were far from comfortable there as they could not accept the popular theology which declared

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 173.

that grace was irresistible. The Breda Classis tried to compel them to subscribe the *Heidelberg Catechism* not merely as a good compendium of divinity (which they were willing to do) but absolutely and without qualifications. There were Classes that required the ministers to sign the *Confession*, but this enforced signing of the *Catechism* was an innovation which only a Synod should have introduced. The fact that Diamantius welcomed a visit of the Lansbergens in the interests of mutual toleration was an additional offence. He removed soon afterwards to Delft, where his ministry was much appreciated until his death in 1617. The Contra-Remonstrant leader at Breda, Musenhol, was in close touch with Festus Hommius, and through him with Plancius and Trigland, who were working so hard to set their country free from heresy altogether.[1] Musenhol did not hesitate to say that the Remonstrants were working to bring in Popery again. This seems to have been a popular canard at this time, for Wtenbogaert heard at Utrecht from one of the Walloon preachers that Plancius had not only accused Wtenbogaert of being in communication with the enemies of the State, but that Episcopius had been to Paris to meet the Jesuit Cotton there. Wtenbogaert in indignation sent a lawyer to see Plancius on the subject, but could get no satisfaction. He then interviewed some of the Amsterdam burgomasters, who said that Plancius was an old man, and might very well be let alone. Wtenbogaert, however, wrote a letter of protest to the Town Council; but his letter was merely laid on the table.[2]

It was clear to the Contra-Remonstrant leaders that, if they were to succeed in their plans, the influence of the Remonstrants must be broken at the capital. There was no one whom they regarded as more dangerous than Wtenbogaert himself, and they now spared no pains to destroy his influence. There were at the Hague three

[1] See Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 183–7; Letter of Vossius to Grotius, December 3rd, 1615.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 270–71; cf. Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 53.

colleagues of Wtenbogaert, all of whom were Contra-Remonstrants. La Faille and La Motte were on friendly terms with the Court Chaplain and inclined to accept the States' Resolution on toleration. Henry Rosaeus was the agent of the High Calvinist faction. He had begun his ministry on the other side; had been a pupil of Vorstius; received successive appointments through the influence of Wtenbogaert, had actually come to the Hague through Wtenbogaert, and had seen the Remonstrance before it was issued, though he did not sign it. About 1612, after the troubles over the call of Vorstius to Leiden University and the Hague Conference, he began to avoid the public preaching of Wtenbogaert and any private intercourse with him. Then he attacked Vorstius in the pulpit, and afterwards the Remonstrants in general terms, referring to innovators, false teachers, foxes in the vineyard, in ways that the hearers were not slow to interpret. Rosaeus was popular not only as a preacher but as a visitor, for he had some knowledge of medicine; it is not surprising, therefore, that many began to avoid Wtenbogaert's sermons, and then gave up attendance at the Lord's Supper.[1] For a long time Wtenbogaert kept silence, saying that Rosaeus was quite unmanageable, but on Sunday, September 16th, 1615, he decided to make a declaration as to his position. Preaching on Mark vi, 30–34, he explained the five points of doctrine in which the Remonstrants differed from the Calvinists. He showed that these differences did not touch the fundamentals of the faith as they had existed in the primitive Church, and even between Luther and Melanchthon. He put in an earnest plea for union, and declared that he would rather resign his position and go away than be the cause of a schism in a congregation to which he had ministered for so long.[2] Rosaeus, who was not present, regarded this as a declaration of war. He appeared at the Consistory, held before the Communion

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 290–304; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, 196–7; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 1.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 197–8; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 304–6; Trigland, pp. 874–6.

Service, and attacked Wtenbogaert for endeavouring to make a schism in the Church by his sermon. His colleagues soon discovered that he intended to be absent from the Lord's Supper. Several leaders of the Church tried to dissuade Rosaeus from this step. Wtenbogaert got another to officiate at the service in his own place, but still Rosaeus was unwilling to be present. Wtenbogaert considered this to be open schism, and complained that no formal charge had been made against him to the Consistory. Some members of the local court thought that it was a doctrinal question and should be dealt with by a Synod. Wtenbogaert considered it rather as a question of conduct. His other colleagues supported him in his appeal for fair play. Several attempts to make peace were made by the Consistory without result. Rosaeus took up his parable in the pulpit until the States of Holland intervened, reminding him of their decree of Mutual Toleration. Wtenbogaert at the beginning of 1616 interviewed the States' Advocate on the subject and offered to leave the Hague in the interests of peace. Barnevelt was by no means willing to receive this rebuff, and interviewed Rosaeus without result, for the latter was acting under directions from Amsterdam and could not make any compromise. In the end he was suspended from preaching until further order from the States on February 12th, 1616. He presently began to worship at the village of Rijswijk, and a great crowd of sympathizers joined him there.[1]

This summary of events at the Hague has carried us into 1616. The story is not yet complete, for the Hague was destined to be a strategic point on the battlefield when the decisive struggle took place. The year 1615 closed in such unrest over religious differences in so many towns of the United Provinces that the elements of civil war seemed to be present. It was a year of pamphleteering also. One of the historians of this period has declared that the year 1615 was so fruitful

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 201–5; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 308–18; Trigland, pp. 878–84.

in the production of polemical books on the Arminian question that it would require a volume merely to give a list of them.[1] Yet the States of Holland still hoped that a way of mutual toleration was possible. On December 22nd, 1615, once more they passed their decree in favour of it, together with resolutions advising the adoption of the Church Order of 1591. These were sent round to the Classes and to the chief magistrates in the towns and chief officers in the villages; but neither peace nor toleration followed.[2]

The story of 1616 is that of 1615 over again, with signs of increasing animosity. Some actors were removed from the scene. In November 1615 died John Fontanus of Arnhem, a zealous Calvinist who had taught at Heidelberg. His real name was Puts, which was latinized to Puteanus; some humorist altered it later to Fontanus, since he resembled a fountain of living water rather than a mere well.[3] Drusius, who died in the following February, belonged to the other school. He had been a friend of Arminius, and suffered much in his later years in the unfriendly atmosphere of Franeker University. He was a great Hebrew scholar, much of whose Old Testament work was used by later commentators, and preferred the study to the theological arena.[4] In March 1616 a new English Ambassador arrived at the Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton. He was a man of the same temper as his predecessor, and was indeed the choice of Sir Ralph Winwood, who was now Secretary of State. Carleton was forty-three years of age, a man of experience, having represented his country in France, Spain, Venice and Turin. His position was one of great importance, not only because he represented what was nominally the leading Protestant Power, but because he had a seat in the Council of State. This was due to the fact that since the days of Leicester the English

[1] Regenboog, *Historie der Remonstranten*, I, 146.

[2] See Trigland, pp. 720–21; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 9–11; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 201–33.

[3] Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 12.

[4] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 195–6; cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 253.

held the towns of Brielle and Flushing as pledges for loans to the United Provinces. Barnevelt succeeded in paying out the foreigner during this year, but Carleton was allowed to retain his seat in the Council of State by courtesy during the twelve years of his stay at the Hague.[1] His first speech to the States was after the best style of Winwood. He described James I as a lover of peace and a protector of orthodoxy. He lectured his hosts on the subject of Arminius and Vorstius, and said that in the King's judgment the latter should be expelled from the United Provinces. Barnevelt replied cautiously, and declared that the States were treating the difficult controversies over Predestination in the provinces as King James had suggested. It was a sign of the waning authority of Barnevelt that one of the delegates had the courage to agree with Carleton that Vorstius could no longer be tolerated in the land.[2]

An event occurred soon after the arrival of Carleton which may have been of more consequence than appears. A jeweller of Amsterdam who was at the Hague with a great collection of rubies and diamonds to show Maurice was murdered by two attendants of the Count in his private study. The murderers seized the jewels and thrust the body behind an arras, and the Count supped in the same room shortly afterwards. In the night the body was removed and flung into an ashpit. The murderers were soon discovered and executed.[3] It was the duty of Wtenbogaert to prepare them for death. From this point the friendship between Maurice and Wtenbogaert was broken. The popular explanation, which Motley accepts, is that the court preacher discovered in his conversations with the condemned criminals the secret of the loose amours of the Count and reproved his master for them. "Maurice received the information sullenly, and, as soon as Wtenbogaert was gone, fell into a violent passion, throwing his hat upon the floor, stamping upon it, refusing to eat

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, I, 1–8, 27–34; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 421–2.
[2] Ibid., II, 424.
[3] Ibid., II, 278–9; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 10–11.

his supper and allowing no one to speak to him. Next day some courtiers asked the clergyman what in the world he had been saying to the Stadholder."[1] What is certain is that Wtenbogaert knew that there was an estrangement, and was unwilling to discuss the reasons for it. This fact materially affected the position of the Arminians. Moreover, it coincided with a movement on the part of Count William Lewis of Nassau to rouse Maurice from the lethargy that afflicted him in political affairs. As Stadholder of Friesland he wrote in February 1616 to Maurice to tell his cousin of his determination to keep in at Leeuwarden loyal Calvinists as magistrates against all efforts of Arminians to get a footing in the province.[2] He warned Maurice of this danger and followed it up by a much more vigorous letter on April 6th. He had then heard that the disputes were reaching a crisis, and that certain loyal towns were obstinately resisting the wish of the States of Holland to change the reformed religion in which they had been so miraculously kept for forty years. If Maurice would help them they had a good chance of success, but, if the chance were missed, such a division might follow as would leave the United Provinces an easy prey of Spain.[3] Count William Lewis had governed Friesland since 1584, and in his piety and zeal for the Protestant cause in Europe he was the true son of his father, Count John of Nassau. Leicester had said of him years before, "He is a little fellow, as little as may be, but one of the gravest and wisest young men that I ever spoke withal." He proceeded to take up the question of the religious divisions in the provinces under his cousin's directions seriously, and did not rest until he had persuaded Maurice to take a definite stand in the controversy. He was not content with letters. We find him in October of this year at the Hague, and

[1] Motley, *John of Barneveld*, II, 53, following G. Brandt, *Hist. v. d. Regtspleging*, Note R, pp. 315–16.

[2] *Archives Orange-Nassau*, II, 461; cf. Groen v. Prinsterer, *Maurice et Barnevelt*, Correspondence, p. 1.

[3] *Archives*, II, 464–5.

there can be little doubt that the definite decision of Maurice in 1617 to give his support to the Contra-Remonstrant party was largely due to the influence of Count William.[1]

Friesland was separated from Holland by the provinces of Utrecht and Overyssel, which were at that time, at least in the chief towns and States' assemblies, under Remonstrant influences. In the villages the Contra-Remonstrants were probably in a majority even here. The States of Overyssel met at Kampen in March 1616 and resolved to suppress all controversy. "The Nobles and Towns of the Province of Overyssel require and command all ministers and preachers of God's Word, whether they be of one opinion or the other, to forbear from henceforward to discourse of the aforesaid controversies about Predestination or God's Eternal Election of Men, and all other deep and mysterious points relating to the secret Will of God, and not to make any mention thereof in the pulpit or in any other manner publicly, much less to write or print anything concerning them, on pain of being immediately dismissed from the exercise of their function, in case they be found to contravene this Order and Resolution."[2] The usual preacher was forthcoming to carry the news to Amsterdam and get the Resolution secretly printed, for which he was suspended from preaching for a month and was eventually glad to receive a call elsewhere. Six months later Friesland passed a resolution, which is both an expression of the views of its popular Stadholder and a vigorous reply to Overyssel. A letter was sent to all Friesland ministers warning them against preachers who opposed the orthodox faith and were trying to raise another Church "abounding in pernicious novelties." All new preachers were to subscribe the *Catechism* and *Confession*, and to promise upon oath not to introduce novelties. Suspected preachers were to be reported to the States' authorities; in that way the Reformed

[1] Cf. Groen v. Prinsterer, *Maurice et Barnevelt*; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 361–52.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 1–9; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 262, 263.

Gospel should be kept pure.[1] The March Resolution of the States of Holland sounds like a compromise between these two positions. It reaffirms the principle of mutual toleration in differences of belief on the subject of Predestination. On all other doctrines the *Confession* and *Catechism* should be followed, with the understanding that these formularies might be revised at the next Synod. In reality this was all that the Arminians were requesting.[2]

The States of Holland might show a bold front to the Churches, but in reality Barnevelt was greatly perplexed by a problem harder than any which had yet tested even his diplomatic experience. The real difficulty was Amsterdam. There were three other towns that stood out with the great merchant city against the States' Resolution, but Amsterdam was too strong for the provincial authority—too strong even for the United Provinces. A Dutch historian has said in another connection: "Although the States-General moved heaven and earth; although in the States of Holland the representatives of all the other towns concurred; if Amsterdam, the mistress of the purse-strings says no, then the pouch is closed."[3] It was equally true in the present controversy; if Amsterdam steadily refused the idea of any toleration of the Remonstrants, the battle for mutual toleration was lost. It was for this reason that the States of Holland sent an important deputation of five of its members to the City Council of Amsterdam in April 1616. It was a great event in the history of the controversy. Crowds lined the streets of the growing city declaring that these were the men who were trying to change the established religion. According to Carleton, Amsterdam had become a city of refuge for Contra-Remonstrants persecuted in other towns, and therefore the new parts of the city were full of extreme Calvinists.[4] The Council of thirty-six was a distinguished assembly composed chiefly of wealthy merchants,

[1] Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 31 ff.; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 263–4.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 207.
[3] Busken Huet, *Land van Rembrand*, II, 307.
[4] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 58.

burgomasters and aldermen, the ruling oligarchy of a city republic. Grotius, the most learned and most brilliantly endowed Dutchman of his time, was the spokesman of the deputation. His speech lasted for two hours and was a persuasive plea for toleration in non-fundamental questions. Its importance as the apology for the policy of the States is recognized by the fact that it is given verbatim by Brandt in his history and in substance by Trigland, Wagenaar and writers on the other side. He went back to the 1591 scheme for Church Government, which he claimed to give a just balance to lay and ecclesiastical influences. He declared that one of the principles of the Reformation was that men should co-operate on fundamental questions and avoid disputes on other subjects. He gave instances of this principle at work in Germany, in Switzerland, in Great Britain. The primitive Church had never divided over Predestination; it was rather in favour of Free Will.[1] He gave many reasons for the authority of the State in Church questions, and showed its value in preventing schism. He pointed out the practical difficulties in the way of an immediate meeting of a National Synod. He examined in detail the doctrinal differences between the two parties, and showed very cleverly how much less they were than was popularly supposed. He finished with an earnest plea for peace, pointing out that the only other alternatives were, either that one party should be ejected from the Church, or that they should make up their minds to the permanent existence of two Reformed Churches side by side.[2] The Council made no reply save that they would consider the matter. Outside the Council Chamber the crowds were still waiting to see the deputation depart. The following day, April 24th, the deputation worshipped at the Walloon Church, as it was Sacrament Sunday in the Dutch Churches. The following day the burgomasters

[1] Trigland, p. 740, remarks that thousands of early Church writings have disappeared, and ridicules the *argumentum e silentio*.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 211–31; Trigland, pp. 732–50; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 234–9; Wagenaar, *Ned. Hist.*, X, 114–37.

waited on the deputation and expressed their thanks for the full information that had been given them as to the reasons for the States' Resolutions, but declared that after the subject had been fully considered they would send their reply by deputies to the States. Grotius and his colleagues wished to discuss any difficulties, but they were unwilling to pursue the argument. It is possible that on the Sunday the preachers had advised them not to go into reasons for their attitude. This was very disappointing. The delegation had been nobly entertained at their lodgings, but they would have preferred less comfort and more reason. There was nothing for it but to return to the Hague and present their report. The Amsterdam Council then met and declared that a National Synod alone could deal with the dilemma. They believed that the 1591 Church Order denied the headship of Christ over His Church; the Remonstrants were guilty of many more errors than those to be found in the five articles; they revived sayings of Vorstius, Venator and Grevinchoven, and found that the differences between the two parties were fundamental.[1] This unyielding statement was received with enthusiasm by Contra-Remonstrants and was expressed to the States of Holland at the end of June. The Amsterdam representatives did not fail to point to cases where Contra-Remonstrant preachers had been silenced by Arminian magistrates. It was clear that the last effort of the States of Holland for peace was a failure.

The Contra-Remonstrant preachers were now more resolute than ever in the determination to act together. In July 1616 they summoned a miniature National Synod of their own to Amsterdam, at which fourteen preachers were present, representing seven provinces.[2] It was an illegal gathering, but the time was coming when the authority of the State must be challenged. They bound themselves to oppose the Remonstrants and the

[1] Trigland, pp. 754–64; Wagenaar, X, 139.

[2] Trigland, pp. 689–90, 764; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 256; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 341; cf. Limborch, *Hist. Vitæ S.E.*, p. 82.

whole idea of toleration, whether it came from Utrecht, Overyssel or Gelderland. In Amsterdam itself C. P. Hooft was a voice crying in the wilderness against this irreconcilable attitude.

Leiden University, which had for some time been marked by comparative peace, was at this time enlivened by a heresy charge against Episcopius. Festus Hommius, who kept a sharp look out for any Arminian excesses in the theological classes, was present at a disputation held on May 17th, 1616, on the differences between the Old and New Testaments. Episcopius presided, but the student who opened the discussion had drawn up his own theses, and largely borrowed them from those of Arminians on the subject. He maintained that the Old Testament had no teaching on Eternal Life ; Episcopius modified this by saying that immortality was not clearly taught in the Old Testament.[1] Festus happened to meet in the street an Amsterdam alderman named Jan ten Grotenhuis, and told him that Episcopius was Socinianizing the whole University : Grotenhuis retired to a public-house to get a clearer view of the situation, and finally reported the matter to the Curators of the University. The Curators then called Festus and Episcopius to appear before them at the Town Hall and heard them both. Episcopius said that it was merely the position of Arminius that had been discussed ; Festus replied that that did not make it orthodox. No charge had been made against this thesis, but much more might have been said against Arminius if the Contra-Remonstrants had not been so restrained. Episcopius thought this was a remarkable statement from a man who had, against the wish of the States, published the proceedings of the Delft Conference with every Remonstrant opinion that went beyond the five points gathered from every possible source. Festus then fell back on the statement that Episcopius interpreted the Scriptures in the same manner as Socinus. " Why ! " was the reply, " did you not say to Borrius that I had bravely and learnedly defended the divinity of Christ ? " " No," said Festus,

[1] Trigland, p. 637 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 331.

"it was concerning the Trinity that I said that I did not expect you would have so openly explained yourself as I heard you then do." Episcopius showed that the one doctrine involved the other, and cleared himself of the charge of Socinianism to the satisfaction of the Curators and Burgomasters, who gave him a certificate to that effect. Festus was also required to write to Alderman Grotenhuis to the same effect.[1] In spite of this the rumour was spread abroad that Episcopius had been brought up by the university authorities and reproved for his heretical teaching. Episcopius was so troubled by this that in August he asked to be heard on the subject by the Curators once more. The result was that another long and unsatisfactory discussion took place between the two men in which Episcopius tried to fasten upon Hommius the responsibility for the spread of this rumour, while Hommius raised a variety of Arminian subtleties. It was clear that the specific case could not be proved against the professor, but that his opponent was just as convinced of his heresy as if it had been demonstrated up to the hilt.[2] Towards the end of the year a fire, which almost entirely destroyed the university buildings, gave the people of Leiden other interests for a time.[3]

There were no signs of any diminution in the zeal with which the war of pamphleteering was carried on this year. Outsiders, representing both parties, like Du Plessis Mornay and the Bishop of Lichfield might write from Saumur and London respectively in favour of peace, but it did not help to narrow the breach between their correspondents Polyander and Grotius, nor between the groups they represented.[4] This was shown by the continued discussion of toleration, which was now led by Trigland and Taurinus of Utrecht. Trigland was rapidly becoming the intellectual leader of the Contra-

[1] Limborch, *Hist. Vitæ S.E.*, pp. 55–67; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 234–7.
[2] Trigland, pp. 640–41; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 238–42.
[3] Ibid., II, 262, note.
[4] Cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 210, 269; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 259–61; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 11.

Remonstrants. He had been trained for the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church at Louvain, but had come back to Holland an extreme Protestant. At Amsterdam he found an atmosphere in which he flourished, and in his pamphlet on the *Truly Moderate Christian* he showed that moderation did not involve the surrender of principles, and that it was impossible for the Reformed Church to make any compromises even with the five points of the Arminian Remonstrance. Taurinus of Utrecht replied with a two-volume plea for toleration, in which he made some remarks about the intolerance of Amsterdam which led the magistrates of that city to forbid the sale of his book there.[1]

Wtenbogaert continued to be the object of animosity. The old legends of his visit to the Pope with Arminius were trumped up again. If he went to visit relatives at Bois-le-Duc he had attended the Mass there. Since 1612 Jesuits had been forbidden to enter the United Provinces, yet Wtenbogaert was said to have concealed ten of them for three days in his house.[2] Decent controversialists like Walaeus of Middelburg avoided these calumnies while they attacked Wtenbogaert's view of the authority of the State in religious matters. Even Trigland did not attack the person of Wtenbogaert, although he permitted himself to say "We cannot believe in the piety of one who attacks pure doctrine so vigorously." It was reserved for an eccentric visionary whom Wtenbogaert had befriended named Vincent van Drielenburgh to make the most personal charges. His peculiar pamphlets were issued from Amsterdam, which he called Matersalem, and were often directed against Utrecht, which had expelled him from its borders and was known as Babylon in his jargon. Wtenbogaert was Judas, the mere tool of Barnevelt.[3] The Court Chaplain did not deign to reply to these slanders; younger disciples of Arminius took up the challenge. His real reply was a translation

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 220–26; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VII, 6–8; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 266–7.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 268–70, 378; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 189.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 259–62; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 20.

into Dutch of Martin Bucer's *Golden Epistle*. Bucer was the pioneer of the Reformation in Strasburg and, during a period of exile, a Cambridge professor. He was present at the Marburg Conference and attempted to mediate between Luther and Zwingli. His *Golden Epistle* is the dedicatory letter to the University of Marburg which forms the preface to his exposition of the Gospels. The difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed leaders on the interpretation of the Lord's Supper was greater than that which threatened a schism in the United Provinces over Predestination. Bucer had been of the opinion that it would have been a sin if the earlier controversy had led to a breach of communion, and Wtenbogaert found his wise and peaceable words very appropriate to the situation of 1616.[1] Amsterdam noted that the *Golden Letter* was dedicated to the magistrates of the Hague, and interpreted as a plea for support against Rosaeus. Its reply, therefore, was to dig up some twenty-year-old letters of Wtenbogaert, when he had had views on Church Government which more nearly resembled their own, and publish them under the ironical title of *Three Golden Letters of John Wtenbogaert.*

The feelings of the Remonstrants at this time were expressed by Barlaeus, the Vice-Regent of the Theological School of the University of Leiden, in a lively oration. Speaking in defence of Wtenbogaert he said: "You are apt to say we will cry out against him all at once, and bear him down with blustering and railing. The Contra-Remonstrants are by far the most numerous in the United Netherlands: these shall oppose him in public and rail at him in private, and when they want a story shall strain their wits to invent one; for whatever is done for the good of the Church is well done. If he pretend to answer us, we will overwhelm him, we will ply him with answer upon answer and blows upon blows. If he writes anything we will take care that few shall read it." He proceeded to give a picture

[1] Trigland, pp. 695–701; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 269–70; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 248.

of the progress of slander in town and village, by exaggeration and nickname, until truth was dethroned and oracular dogmatism established in its place.[1]

Local disputes continued throughout 1616, as through the previous year. As a rule magistrates who favoured the Remonstrants were opposed by zealous Calvinists, who carried most of the people with them. This appears to have been the case in the villages of Grosthuizen and Avenhoorn, near Hoorn, where one of the bitterest struggles took place. The minister serving the two villages was Dirck Christaensen, who was silenced at the end of 1615 because he refused to recognize the authority of the Arminian Classis of Hoorn. When the Hoorn authorities tried to introduce an Arminian preacher at one village he was repelled with a pike; when they put a padlock on the church in the other village it was broken off and the Contra-Remonstrants held a service there. Sapma succeeded in preaching a sermon at Grosthuizen since he had a bodyguard of a dozen armed men. Appeals were made to the States of Holland, who endeavoured to restrain the rigour of the Hoorn magistrates. The struggle went on with increasing bitterness throughout the year. Church-breakers were fined. The Calvinists said that the only supporters of the Hoorn policy in the villages were Papists; the Arminians said that in fifteen years' residence Christaensen had only been able to bring six men to Communion. In the end he remained in possession.[2] At Oudewater the magistrates were in feud with the preacher, John Lydius. He would not accept the States' Resolution in favour of toleration, nor could he agree to the 1591 scheme of Church Government. His colleague Levinus de Raet was more amenable, and the usual results followed: contention, the severance of communion, and the threat of schism.[3] Down the river, at Gouda and Rotterdam, the Remonstrants were more powerful.

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 260; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 268.

[2] Trigland, pp. 847–53; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 242–6; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 28.

[3] Trigland, pp. 772–85; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 12.

Zealous Calvinists marched out of these towns on the Sundays to neighbouring villages where the preaching was more after their own heart; as they came back from their journeys along the muddy roads the baser Arminians nicknamed them "dirty beggars." This name was an echo of the nickname of the founders of Dutch independence, and was taken up with enthusiasm by the Contra-Remonstrants as a sign that they were carrying on the heroic tradition of their fathers. Attempts were made to suppress their conventicles, which were destined to fail. The village of Zevenhuizen especially was a gathering-place of Contra-Remonstrants for the whole district. The Rotterdam magistrates in June 1616 issued an ordinance threatening the confiscation of houses, barns, ships, boats, barges or fields where illicit assemblies for worship were held.[1] It is fair to say that although Grotius was Pensionary of the town, he did not approve of this drastic procedure, and it was the action of magistrates rather than of Arminian preachers who were still pleading the cause of mutual toleration. Neither party, however, was yet prepared for complete freedom in religious observance.

It was at the Hague that the main battle was fought out. The situation as Carleton saw it when he came there as Ambassador is expressed in a letter to Winwood dated April 21st, 1616: "The questions and contestations about religion have been of late so hotly revived that here in their town of their assemblies the Arminian faction doth *dominare in concionibus*, and one Rosseus, a preacher in this town for many years past, and a chief opposite of Arminians, put to silence by sentence of the States of Holland. Whereupon those who followed his sermons, refuse to communicate or repair to the churches of any of the other party; so as every Sunday there are six or seven hundred people of this town which go to Rijswick, and so have done for the space of these three months, to hear service and sermons, after the same

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 366; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 253–5; Trigland, pp. 766–72; Baudart, *Memoryen*, VIII, 18–28; Wagenaar, X, 82–3; cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 255.

manner as the protestants in France go out of the popish towns to the reformed churches ; so great is the animosity, to which they are now grown." [1] A petition of Rosaeus to the States of Holland was coldly received since he refused to hold communion with Wtenbogaert, and the latter demanded that definite charges should be made against him in the Church courts. Rosaeus was therefore regarded as a martyr, though he was not suffering financially as his salary was paid regularly, and he was also practising as a doctor in the Hague.[2] By September the Rijswijk congregation, which now claimed to number 1,200, was growing weary of its three-mile walk into the country. They demanded the use of some church in the Hague and the services of Rosaeus as their minister. The latter also renewed his petition to the States of Holland, but still refused fellowship with his colleague. Wtenbogaert, seeing no other way out of the difficulties, asked to be allowed to retire on a pension. These three petitions put the States of Holland into a difficult situation. They were not prepared to abandon Wtenbogaert, nor were they willing to recognize a schism at their very doors. They put off the decision from day to day, postponing a decision first to November and then to March. The Church Consistory still held that the real solution was to appoint another Calvinist preacher in place of Rosaeus, who would agree to the resolution on mutual toleration.[3] Maurice was inclined to agree with this as a temporary expedient, but under the influence of Count William Lewis he was inclining more and more to the side of the Contra-Remonstrants. He began to say that they were the people who had put his father in the saddle and must have a church at the Hague, if he gave them his stable.[4] On the last day of the year they held their conventicle at the house of Enoch Much,

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 14–15.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 247–8.

[3] Ibid., II, 249–80 ; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 58–82 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 363 ; Trigland, pp. 887–8.

[4] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 364.

the Stadholder's librarian. Maurice refused to provide soldiers to suppress these irregularities. At a special meeting of representatives of the States, of the Hague magistrates, and of the nobles, he ordered the oath of 1586 which bound them to maintain the reformed religion to be read out: "That oath I mean to keep," he said, "as long as I live." When Barnevelt pressed him as to whether he wished the doctrine that God had created one child for damnation and another for salvation to be publicly preached he said he was no theologian, and this was an additional reason for a National Synod.[1] He promised the party of Rosaeus that they should have the Great Church for their use if necessary, but advised them to go to Rijswijk again for the next Sunday. They did this and constituted themselves a separate Church by electing deacons and elders.

On January 22nd, 1617, they moved into the Hague and held their service in the Gasthuis Church before the English met in the same building for their service, for it was used by the English Embassy. Carleton was very willing to help this movement, and reported at the beginning of February that "a provisional order is taken, that the Contra-Remonstrants shall continue their preaching in our English Church which they have accommodated with scaffolds to make it more capable of their number."[2] A special meeting of the States of Holland was held on January 28th, at which Maurice was present. Barnevelt had strongly opposed the presence of the Stadholder, since he was the servant of the States; but the majority was against him. The business was to discuss the whole situation with the Church Consistory of the Hague. A long morning discussion ended with the discovery that peace was possible if Rosaeus and Wtenbogaert could work together. This was to achieve nothing, and the day closed with an impatient outburst of Maurice against the speeches of Grotius and Barnevelt in favour of

[1] Van der Kemp, IV, 24; quoted Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 121; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 87.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 93.

toleration: "With this good sword I will defend the religion which my father planted in these provinces." This attitude was soon widely known, and also the reply of an old Calvinist woman at Rotterdam to Arminian taunts: "Prince Maurice is a dirty beggar too!"[1]

Maurice now absented himself from communion in the Great Church, and on July 9th, 1617, Rosaeus preached there in triumph to a great congregation; three children were baptized with the significant names of William, Maurice and Henry.[2] The following Sunday Maurice heard Wtenbogaert for the last time at the Court Chapel and informed several nobles that his old chaplain was an enemy of God. A week later Maurice went in solemn state to worship at the Cloister Church. He was accompanied by Count William Lewis and "all the chief officers of his household and members of his staff. It was an imposing demonstration, and meant for one. As the martial Stadholder, at the head of his brilliant cavalcade, rode forth across the drawbridge, from the inner court of the old moated palace, along the shady and stately Kneuterdyk, and so through the Voorhout, an immense crowd thronged around his path and accompanied him to the church. It was as if the great soldier were marching to siege or battle-field where fresher glories than those of Sluys or Geertruidenberg were awaiting him. The train passed by Barneveld's house and entered the cloister. More than four thousand persons were present at the service or crowded around the doors vainly attempting to gain admission into the overflowing aisles, while the Great Church was left comparatively empty, a few hundred only worshipping there. The Cloister Church was henceforth called the Prince's Church, and a great revolution was beginning even in the Hague."[3] The policy of mutual toleration had proved a complete failure.

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 97.

[2] Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 125; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 384.

[3] Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 127; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 341; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 385; Wagenaar, X, 152.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DOWNFALL OF THE OLIGARCHY

The year 1617 was the centenary of the beginning of the Reformation. In Germany the courageous action of Luther at Wittenberg was appropriately celebrated in Protestant areas, but there was little spirit for such thanksgivings in Holland. Wise men felt that the times needed a Melanchthon rather than a Luther to find a way of peace.[1] As a matter of fact, 1617 was destined to bring definite schism to the United Provinces rather than unity. The union of the provinces was itself tentative and provisional, the product of common dangers and sufferings. The genius of Motley has established the title of the new State as the Dutch Republic, but it was a Republic for whose Constitution no precedent could be discovered, nor has it left any successors. A competent historian has declared, "Of all forms of government that have ever come into being probably the most difficult of comprehension is that of the United Provinces."[2] In the bitter controversy of these years the most eminent lawyers found themselves on opposite sides over the question of the conflicting rights of the whole State and the separate provinces. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the ambiguity of the Constitution made it equally possible for Arminian and Calvinist lawyers to justify their political action. The foundation-stone of the Constitution was the Union made at Utrecht in 1579, which was made before the Spanish rule had been finally discarded. Each province retained its particular privileges and customs, and even the cities were guaranteed

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 422; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 344.

[2] *English Hist. Rev.*, V, 47–8.

their ancient constitutions. Common action in war, equal assessment of taxes, a common currency, unanimity in the reception of new allies, were to be the chief tokens of this federation. By the thirteenth Article Holland and Zeeland were to use their liberty on the subject of religious worship, while the other provinces were to make appropriate arrangements which would ensure both peace and religious freedom.[1] The object of this curious arrangement was to preserve the reformed religion in Holland and Zeeland without excluding from the United Provinces those that were largely or even entirely Catholic. By another clause, on subjects where unanimity was required in the States-General if difficulties arose they were to be referred to the stadholders then in office.

So long as the common struggle for liberty kept the provinces together under the great leadership of William of Orange there was little danger of internal strife. The assassination of the leader laid an increasing responsibility on the shoulders of the others. The position of Maurice as stadholder of Holland and Zeeland at the age of seventeen was naturally overshadowed first by the governorship of Leicester, and then by the growing influence of Barnevelt. Yet his own military talents and the steady support of Barnevelt won for him the stadholdership of Utrecht and Overyssel in 1590, and that of Gelderland in the following year. By the time of the Truce with Spain Barnevelt had become the most influential and far-seeing of European statesmen, and the real ruler of the United Provinces. We have seen how the truce sowed the seeds of discord between the military and political heads of the State, and also some of the forces that helped in their germination. We have now reached the point at which the cleavage became definite. For more than thirty years Barnevelt had been accustomed to direct the policy of his country. For twenty-nine years Maurice had been Captain and Admiral-General of all the forces of the State. In the view of Barnevelt the supreme authority was in the hands

[1] For Articles of Union see Bor. XIII, 26–30.

of the Provincial States in most subjects, and of the States-General in others, while the stadholders were the servants of that authority, supreme in the field but strictly limited in peace. The lethargic disposition of Maurice in time of peace allowed him for long to accept this position without challenge. Charges of ambition for the sovereignty have been made against him, but his declaration to Buzenval that he would rather fling himself from the Hague tower,[1] has a note of verisimilitude about it. His refusal to marry, and his steady friendship for his half-brother and successor—in spite of the latter's Arminian sympathies—point in the same direction. The overweening power of Barnevelt, however, irritated him, and he was urged into action by the Calvinist zeal of his cousin William Lewis, the Stadholder of Groningen and Friesland. As early as April 1616 Count William began a correspondence with Maurice from Leeuwarden, begging him to stand by the reformed religion and support the "good towns" (Amsterdam and her supporters) against the States of Holland.[2]

It was not until January 1617 that Maurice began to show his hand. The Contra-Remonstrants at the Hague were seeking to defy the States of Holland by meeting in houses in the town instead of walking through the mud to Rijswijk. The magistrates tried to stop this schism, and summoned half a dozen of the offenders before the States' Council, who ordered them to desist until the next meeting of the States of Holland. This they flatly refused to do, and the Council appealed to Maurice for military support. The Stadholder replied that no troops were available for such purposes; his bodyguard he needed for his own defence, and troops from other towns could not be removed from the frontiers. He was then invited to a special meeting of the States' Council and the Town Council to discuss the question. Calling for the oath of 1586, he said that

[1] *Vierde Examinatie van Hugo de Groot*, qu. 34. Also in same *Verhooren*, p. 11, Maurice said, "he would rather row a galley than be like a Duke of Venice."

[2] *Archives Orange-Nassau*, 2nd Series, II, Letter 388.

he was bound to abide by that and defend the reformed religion as long as he lived. It was for this that his father had lost his life.[1] This day, January 14th, 1617, may well be regarded as the beginning of what looked uncommonly like civil war. Count William was overjoyed, and wrote an effusive letter of thanks to God and praise to Maurice for this "heroic resolution." "It is deeds, and not words, that are required," he said.[2] Trigland asserts that almost a year before, in a conversation with Maurice, he had appealed for liberty for the Contra-Remonstrants to meet in barns and houses and Maurice had exclaimed indignantly, "The churches are ours, and we will have them."[3] Now the Amsterdam preacher declares that Barnevelt made a plot to seize the Contra-Remonstrant ringleaders in their beds and suppress the schism by force.[4] His unsupported testimony is not sufficient evidence for the truth of this assertion, but it is more than likely that the Advocate of Holland, moved by his high sense of the authority of the States, began to consider that it would be necessary to raise independent forces to maintain order if Maurice was not prepared to take orders from the civil power. Wtenbogaert saw clearly enough what was likely to happen, and had little hope of any successful outcome. He had gauged much more accurately than Barnevelt the strength of the Calvinist opposition, and in April advised the Advocate to agree to the calling of a National Synod. "Will you throw away the rights of the land?" said Barnevelt, and added in his proudest manner, "I will not." His opponents gave Wtenbogaert due credit for his political sagacity in this matter; it was only in religious fervour and straightforwardness that he was lacking.[5] He wrote to his friend Hogerbeets, now Pensionary of Leiden: "If Pepin will help the Church, the Church will make Pepin King." If all

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 87; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 365.
[2] *Archives*, II, Letter 397.
[3] Trigland, p. 907. [4] Ibid., p. 908.
[5] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 438; Trigland, 1043 f.; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 391.

were to end in peace and quiet he would be the first to say, "Vive le roi."[1]

The party of Barnevelt was not so strong as it appeared to be. Holland had for years been ruled by an oligarchy of which Barnevelt was the head. The leading burghers in its prosperous merchant cities were for the most part his supporters. Financially Holland was as strong as all the other provinces put together. In the States-General the Advocate of Holland appeared as the ambassador of the predominant parties, and largely controlled affairs. Utrecht was always ready to support him. Now, however, the other provinces began to show more independence, and in Holland itself Amsterdam had created a formidable opposition. Democracy as we know it was hardly in existence, but popular feeling showed itself more and more in cartoons, in songs and in pamphlets on the side of the Calvinist party.[2] The action of Maurice turned the scale decisively against the Arminian magistrates and officials. The house of Orange was once more waging war against the dreaded power of Spain, which had its supporters within the home camp. "Spanje-Oranje" became a popular cry. No outside support was of more value to Maurice than that of the English King and his Ambassadors. James I disliked the great Dutch statesman, and Winwood and Carleton in succession exhibited their master's prejudices in a very marked manner. Barnevelt undoubtedly resented the English interference in the domestic affairs of his country, and showed a coldness to James I over the Vorstius appointment which was never forgiven. Moreover, while he valued the English alliance, he knew that the United Provinces had received more valuable support from France, and still felt that in the event of future difficulties with Spain the natural ally for the Dutch was Spain's great continental rival. Both du Maurier, the French Ambassador then at the Hague,

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 177.

[2] E.g. "Liever Met Oranje in't veld
Dan langer met Arminianen te zijn gekweld."
Cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 387–402; Wagenaar, X, 153.

and de Boississe who was sent later on a special mission, gave Barnevelt their steady but unavailing support. Carleton was in a stronger position than they were, since he was a member of the Council of State. Moreover, he was the representative of a monarch who, as the Defender of the Faith, was capable of solving any religious problem in Christendom. Unfortunately the modern Solomon had blundered into writing a letter in favour of silence on the disputed points in Predestination. It now seemed necessary for him to go back on that advice, though there were moderate English prelates who agreed with it. On the other hand the Archbishop, Winwood and Carleton were urging him to press the States in favour of a National Synod. Caron declared that in this dilemma James was almost in favour of leaving matters to God and the States-General.[1] In the end, on March 30th at Hinchinbrook he wrote a letter to the States-General regretting the continuance of the religious disorders and the misuse that had been made of his former letter. It was now clear to His Majesty that if the schism were not stopped the ruin of the State would follow. The natural way to such action would be to call a National Synod, and thus follow the regular and legitimate precedents which the history of Christianity afforded.[2]

The mind of Maurice was moving slowly towards this conclusion, but he was not yet convinced that some compromise might not be discovered. On February 25th he had a long conversation with Wtenbogaert, and was inclined to the view that the different parties should have separate churches in each town. Wtenbogaert inquired whether they should meet at the Lord's Table. Maurice thought that was not possible. "That is not toleration, but schism," said the Court Chaplain, and added that the Contra-Remonstrants would never agree to such an arrangement at Amsterdam and in their other towns. Maurice said that a working arrangement had been

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 313.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 284; cf. Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 101, 122, 123; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 59; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 429–30.

found at Leiden and Haarlem, and complained of Arminian intolerance in Rotterdam. Wtenbogaert regretted it, but gave cases on the other side, and said their opponents wanted a Synod with a view to expelling all the Remonstrants; they were setting up a new Inquisition. Maurice then wondered whether another Conference would do any good. "I hope I may not be there," said Wtenbogaert frankly; "my pleasure in them is departed since Delft. If it is ordered I will obey, but we should discuss the five articles only."[1] A week earlier Maurice had said in a letter to Count William that it seemed best to arrange alternate preaching in the churches by Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant preachers.[2] After his conversation with Wtenbogaert he writes again to say that he is trying to get Calvinist preachers into Arminian towns like Rotterdam, Schoonhaven and Brielle. Moreover, he is a little perplexed by the strange assertion of his chaplain that the Arminians were the true Reformed Church, and that these disputes on the subject of Predestination have always been in existence.[3] The Friesland Stadholder had little sympathy with such talk as that. He was prepared to leave that question to be settled by the decision of the Reformed Church of Europe. In his judgment Arminian preaching tended to extirpate the reformed religion. It seemed to him intolerable that the orthodox should be driven to worship in barns, and he urged his cousin to exert his authority.[4] In this plea he was supported by Maurice's sister and his own sister-in-law Emilia, Princess of Portugal, who had been staying in the Hague. She wrote to say how pleased she was with her brother's zeal for God's glory and the support of the truth. She considered "these execrable heretics Arminius, Vorcius and their followers" to be not only heretics, but also in the pay of the King of Spain to ruin the provinces.[5] She was presently joined by Count Ernest Casimir of

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 354 ff.; cf. Trigland, p. 906.
[2] *Archives*, 2nd Series, II, Letter 406; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 279.
[3] *Archives*, II, Letter 407.
[4] Ibid., II, Letter 416, April 1617.
[5] Ibid., II, Letter 410.

Nassau, who wrote from Utrecht urging his brother William to come to the Hague to support Maurice. Business would not permit William to leave Friesland for some time, but he kept Maurice alert by letter after letter, in which he began to urge the need for a National Synod, and hinted that it was civil war and revolution that the Arminians were aiming at. They were also trying to subvert the Courts of Justice "by Macchiavellian and Catalinarian practices."[1] Against these powerful family influences the attitude of his stepmother Louise de Coligny and her son Frederick Henry counted for little. The influence of Carleton with Maurice steadily grew, and of the Dutch officials Aerssen and Antony Duyck, Secretary to the States of Holland, were both ready to seize every opportunity to increase the antagonism of Maurice to Barnevelt.

While these forces were at work in political circles, plot and counterplot were at work amongst the ecclesiastics. The Contra-Remonstrants had a meeting at Amsterdam on January 25th, under the presidency of Plancius. Their opponents called this a secret illegal Synod for the purpose of creating a schism. They did indeed resolve to raise funds to support persecuted congregations, and affirmed that a severance from Arminian Churches was not only advisable but demanded by such passages in the New Testament as Romans xvi, 17, 2 John 10–11.[2] They set to work to organize the agitation for a National Synod, meeting again in June and at the Hague itself a month later. All attempts of the States of Holland to interfere with these gatherings were in vain. The fierce struggles over the separate gatherings of the Calvinists at the Hague at the end of January had their repercussions everywhere in the United Provinces. The attitude of Plancius towards the States and Barnevelt became known as the Calvinists developed their High Church theory for public consumption. "No man," they said, "has power to bind another's

[1] *Archives*, II, Letters 413, 415, 416, 418, 423, 425.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 1; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 345 f.; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 273 ff., 304; cf. Trigland, pp. 896 ff.; Wagenaar, X, 143.

conscience. No man, be he Emperor, King or Prince, Bishop or Teacher, is the Head of the Church. That is the prerogative of our Saviour."[1] Conscience would never permit them to tolerate the Arminian teaching on Free Will, the denial of Assurance and other heresies. The separate Church at the Hague was organized with elders and deacons, and the popular support was such that the Arminian leaders became seriously alarmed. Even Rotterdam offered to receive a Contra-Remonstrant preacher, and Grotius suggested that Grevinchoven's resignation might appease the opposition.[2] Since the Contra-Remonstrants had formed a powerful union for the defence of orthodoxy, it was necessary for the Remonstrants to do the same. They apparently met at the house of Wtenbogaert in March and drew up a new Remonstrance to the States of Holland, "in which," says the *Historical Introduction to the Acts of the Synod of Dort*, "with incredible impudence they endeavoured to remove from themselves the crime of innovation and to fasten the same upon those pastors who most constantly remained in the received doctrine of these Churches." It was presented by Wtenbogaert on April 17th in his last public act at the Hague and replied to at great length by Trigland in a publication in August.[3]

This new Remonstrance not only discussed theological tenets, but asked for the protection of the civil power against violence. The reason for this was that Amsterdam had been the scene of alarming anti-Arminian riots in February. There was no Arminian preacher in that great and prosperous city, and the Arminians themselves were few in number. Trigland declares that there were not more than twenty or thirty in a Church of 20,000 members.[4] This is probably an extreme understatement, but there can be no doubt that Amsterdam was overwhelmingly Contra-Remonstrant. Finding the

[1] Cf. Trigland, p. 897.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 278.
[3] Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 1; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 417–20.
[4] Trigland, p. 913.

Calvinist zeal intolerable, and doubtless encouraged by the success of the other party in holding separate meetings, the Amsterdam Arminians decided to call in an outside preacher for their services. The nearest Remonstrant congregation was nine miles away. They met on February 5th to the number of 200 or more, but were interrupted by a theological blacksmith. The following week, in spite of attempts of the magistrates to suppress the gathering, nearly 1,000 were present in another warehouse. This time an Englishman named Humphrey Bromley protested against this schism, and exhorted the congregation to hear Plancius and Hall. It was difficult to maintain silence for a baptismal service, and at the end windows were broken and there was general uproar.[1] The magistrates then issued placards against the gatherings, and refused to give the Arminians any protection against the mob. On each occasion the preachers had escaped with the greatest difficulty. It was on the third Sunday, February 19th, that disorders reached their climax. Early in the morning the mob attacked the house of Rem Bischop, the brother of Episcopius, on the plea that Arminian preaching was going on inside. Bischop's wife attempted to escape, half clad, from the back, but was pursued with sticks and stones and a mob crying, "Kill the Arminian harlot." Fortunately she found refuge in a carpenter's house near by. Back the crowd went to storm the house of one of Amsterdam's leading merchants, carrying away valuable plunder from every room and gutting the place from top to bottom. The sergeant-major and his men prudently avoided the scene of action, though a crowd of some thousands had gathered fresh from the stimulating preaching of the Calvinist orators. One of the mob was seized as he was carrying away his spoil. He defended his action on the plea of religious fervour. On being asked why he hated the Arminians so he replied, "Are we to suffer such folks here who preach the vile doctrine that God has created

[1] Trigland, pp. 915 f.; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 406 f.; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 284–9; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 14–16; Wagenaar, X, 145; first service was in French.

one man for damnation and another for salvation ? "[1] The ex-burgomaster, C. P. Hooft, had the courage to tell the magistrates that they reproved dancing but not rioting, and could not keep the peace with eighteen companies of militia. He declared that the mob had a list of seventeen houses which they were prepared to visit, three of which belonged to ex-burgomasters.[2] Some leading merchants threatened to leave the town, and the magistrates suppressed the disorders, but they also silenced the Remonstrants. Bischop was excommunicated by the Church, and received nothing in compensation for his heavy losses. The emotions of the time are reflected in a letter of Episcopius to Vorstius, in which he expresses his grief and horror at these events, and a deep sense of injustice that his brother should be regarded by his fellow citizens as the " off-scouring of all things." He dreaded still greater outrages in the future.[3]

In towns like Oudewater, Schoonhaven and Hoorn struggles between the two parties went on without cessation.[4] At Hoorn, where the Remonstrants were in power, their preacher Sapma suggested that some measure of accord might be found by a reasonable discussion of the points in dispute. These discussions went on for some weeks in the early part of 1617, but the hopelessness of the situation may be seen by the fact that when Sapma suggested that a meeting should be opened with prayer, the Contra-Remonstrants sat through the prayer defiantly with their hats on as a sign of their denial that their opponents were true ministers of the Church.[5] This attitude was encouraged by the fact that there were among the Remonstrants men who had the art of provocative speech. Among them we have already met with Vorstius, Grevinchoven of Rotterdam, and Venator of Alkmaar. Henry Slatius of

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 290–97 ; Wagenaar, X, 148 ; Limborch, *Vita S.E.*, pp. 84–105.

[2] C. P. Hooft, *Memorien*, pp. 174, 175, 189–90.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 280.

[4] Cf. Trigland, pp. 772–93.

[5] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 303 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 408.

Bleiswijk was another: about this time he joined in the publication of a book which charged Calvin with violence, tyranny and a domineering temper.[1] Venator was a modernist who offended because he seemed so remote from the fundamentals of the faith as the orthodox conceived them. As a matter of fact he was trying to get at the real beginnings of Christianity by getting behind the accumulations of 1,400 years of dogma to the simplicity that was in Christ. He published a book which had the same idea as the *Gouda Catechism*, but it was a greater outrage on Calvinist sentiment because he was not content to leave his argument in the words of Scripture alone, but pointed the moral and adorned the tale. He called it *Theologia vera et mera infantium et lactantium in Christo*. He was charged with denying the divinity of Christ and opening the gates of heaven to Jews, Turks and heathen. His book was sent to the theological faculty of Leiden for examination, and was found to be unsatisfactory. Wtenbogaert was the only Arminian leader who spoke in his defence. He was then summoned to the Hague on March 17th to be examined by the two theological professors, Episcopius and Polyander. There were also present Grotius and Mus van Holy, the sheriff of Dort.[2] Venator made a declaration there to the effect that Jesus was very God from all eternity, and that he believed in the Virgin Birth and the Eternal Sonship of Christ. Indeed his orthodoxy seemed satisfactorily demonstrated to Episcopius. Grotius agreed that he had given satisfaction, but thought the book was dangerous, and that he should be suspended. In all probability Barnevelt had let it be known that some example of Arminian orthodox zeal would be useful, for Venator was banished to s'Gravezande, near the Hague, and his further adventure of an escape in the disguise of a soldier to France up to his death at Orleans at the beginning of the Synod of Dort cannot be narrated here.[3] He left a wife and ten children behind

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 321; *Brieven Wten.*, No. 223.
[2] Limborch, *Vita S. E.*, pp. 105–6; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 40 ff.
[3] Cf. Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 243–91, 316; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 315–21.

at Alkmaar, was unable to earn a living in the village to which he was banished, and complained to the States of Holland that he was treated "like a banditto." In 1618 he was permitted to pay a flying visit to his dying wife, and so another troubled spirit passes from the scene of action. Episcopius can hardly be acquitted from the charge of weakly submitting to the authority of Grotius in this case. Carleton puts the worst construction on Venator's declaration. "I cannot," he says on March 21st, in his official letter to Secretary Winwood, "without trembling set down the impious opinions which they have here the boldness to publish in print: one comparing the reformed religion in a table to the Turkish Alcoran; but the author is concealed; another by named Venator, a minister of Alcmaer, having printed a book entitled, *Theologia vera et mera*; which divinity he professeth to have been wanting in the world 1,400 years; for which he was this week called to an account before certain committees appointed by the State, and a question put to him, for which his book gave occasion, whether he believed Christ was the Son of God? Though he took not *diem ad deliberandum* it was three hours before he would answer; and then, seeing them ready to proceed to sentence against him, he confessed that point (as it seemed to his judges) rather out of fear than faith. He is banished by public sentence out of Alcmaer and four leagues' circuit, and confined for his habitation to Gravesand, which holds proportion for his framing a new religion with the sentence against Vorstius for making a new God; but this is rather to transplant than to extirpate heresies." [1]

Grotius evidently felt that this dangerous charge of Unitarianism must be speedily refuted, for he entered the field with an attack on Socinianism and urged his friend G. J. Vossius to make a refutation of Pelagianism.[2]

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 112–13.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 26. Grotius's book *Defensio fidei Catholici de satisfactione Christi* was met by a personal attack of Ravensperg of Groningen called *Tuba pacis*. For Vossius see *Epp. Grotii* and Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 426.

Grotius believed that if the history of Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism were fairly written it would be clearly seen that there was a great difference between a reasonable view of the free will of man which the Church had never condemned and extreme views of human independence which set at nought the grace of God. He repeatedly expressed his pleasure at Vossius' *History* when it made its appearance in 1618. Episcopius also was very sensitive about the charges of Socinianism, and wrote on the subject to a fellow theologian in April 1617, declaring that he was no Socinian, but that moderate counsels had no chance in Holland.[1] On the subject of the Atonement the Arminians were nearer to the Socinians than on the Divinity of Christ. At this time Vossius and Episcopius, who were neighbours at Leiden, were discussing the subject of Satisfaction, on which Grotius published his book shortly afterwards. "The question between us and the Socinians," says Vossius, "is whether Christ by His passion affected man only or God also. They say that God is not affected; but they wrest the Scriptures." He went on to add that the popular belief was that Christ suffered the pangs of the lost in redeeming them, which he regarded as an impious conception. The Socinian doctrine of propitiation was not satisfactory, Socinus declaring that Scripture never spoke of God as being reconciled.[2] There can, however, be little doubt that many Arminians were inclined to accept a theory of the Atonement in which the propitiation of an angry deity was replaced by something like the moral influence theory, whether that view came through Socinian channels or not. Grotius, in his book, revived the term *Acceptilatio*, used by the Schoolmen who were not satisfied with Anselm's doctrine of the Atonement. The Acceptilatio was in Roman Law an acquittance by word of mouth without real payment, and man's sin was regarded as being obliterated by Christ's death on such terms. Grotius, however, was less inclined to consider sin as a

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 283.
[2] Ibid., No. 278, Vossius to Grotius.

debt than as an affront to the Law, and makes the Atonement consist essentially in a vindication of God's righteousness, and the Cross a deterrent example. Wtenbogaert was less richly endowed with the mentality of the philosopher than either Grotius or Episcopius, but he was indignant at the charge of Socinianism. Let him say what he will about it, says Trigland, Walaeus found him using a New Testament daily at the camp at Sluys in 1604, in which were comments in the hand of Socinus. Trigland considered that the Remonstrant theology was "plastered and rouged all over with Socinianism."[1]

This digression may show why the Calvinist leaders were so resolute in their opposition. They were convinced that the very foundations were being removed. Motley becomes irritated with disputes concerning Tweedledums and Tweedledees which threatened the very existence of the State, yet it was inevitable that the true Calvinist should fight to the last against any weakening of his scheme of things. The Dutch Republic was in reality built up on his great conceptions. As John Morley has expressed it: "On this black granite of Fate, Predestination and Foreknowledge Absolute the strongest of the Protestant fortresses all over the world were founded."[2] Add to the belief that the Arminians were heretics the suspicion that they were Spanish spies and it is not difficult to understand the fact that a phlegmatic people was roused to such fury by this question. Songs were sung everywhere against the Arminians to popular tunes like "He was a free, rich burgher's son," and it was clear that the work of peacemakers would be full of danger. Still there were optimists who were prepared to make the attempt. It is true that they were mostly foreigners who had not accurately estimated the strength of the feelings that were roused, but as late as August 16th, 1617, Maurice received Episcopius in a long interview of which we have unfortunately no record. It was on the suggestion of

[1] Trigland, p. 96. "Als eene over gheplaesterde ende geblanckette Socinianerije."

[2] Morley, *Oliver Cromwell* (Eversley ed.), p. 51.

his younger brother that the Prince made this last movement towards peace, because the Leiden professor had published nothing.[1] It was then too late for any successful issue from such a conference. Behind Frederick Henry was his mother, the daughter of Coligny, and widow of William the Silent. The Princess Louise remained to the end the devoted friend of Wtenbogaert, and did her utmost to reconcile the two parties. She wrote to the French Huguenot leader, du Plessis Mornay, who urged the use of conciliatory measures, though he considered that the Church should be free from secular authority.[2] He pointed out that the Jesuits and the Jacobins differed over Predestination in the Roman Catholic Church, but no rupture followed.[3] Du Moulin of the Paris Calvinist congregation and that interesting convert to Protestantism, the Archbishop of Spalatro, joined in the same effort towards unity. In England also Overal, who was now Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, supported Spalatro in the attempt to prove that the disputes of Holland did not touch the fundamentals.[4] All onlookers saw that unity was at that moment the desperate need of the Republic. It was one of their native writers who put it most clearly in the terms of their own motto: "The words 'Unity is power,' written in golden letters on your town halls and gates, should be engraved on your hearts."[5]

The real question was, how was this unity to be achieved? The party which had now secured the Stadholder as its leader was convinced that the only way to this end was by a National Synod. They had received much stimulus by the letter from James I in

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 381; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 466; Limborch, *Vita S.E.*, pp. 110–11. He seems to put this interview a year too early.

[2] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 182. Paris Ambassador to Wten., March 7th, 1617.

[3] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 281; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 309, March 2nd.

[4] Cf. *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 270, 275, 288, 290, 292; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 313.

[5] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 392.

favour of that solution written in March. Now the other provinces, which hitherto had in a measure avoided the violent storms of Holland, began to intervene. It was part of a carefully laid plan by which the powerful aristocracy of the leading province should be overcome by the Contra-Remonstrant majorities in the other provinces and the sturdy minority in Holland itself. There was no doubt about the orthodoxy of the sturdy merchants of Zeeland. They had been foremost in the struggle for liberty, and were too near the danger of Spanish tyranny to be other than true Calvinists. Apart from two or three of the towns the province was strongly Contra-Remonstrant. On May 10th the States of Zeeland passed a resolution in favour of a National Synod, and sent a deputation to urge the States of Holland to agree to it and at the same time to wait upon Prince Maurice.[1] This was followed a few days later by similar resolutions from the provinces of Gelderland, Friesland and Groningen. It is clear from the correspondence of Maurice and William Lewis that the two Stadholders were working together in this business.[2] The letter of James I had been a great wind in the Contra-Remonstrant sails, and Maurice seems to have immediately set to work on Zeeland through Jacques de Malderé, the Pensionary of Veere. Holland acknowledged these resolutions and promised to send a reply in due course. Four of the leading officials drew up a colourless statement to the effect that Holland would support the reformed religion without making any reference to the National Synod. When this was read over in the States' Assembly on May 27th it provoked the violent opposition of Amsterdam and her sister towns, but was approved by the majority. In the next few weeks no attempts at compromise in Holland were of any avail, and when the States-General met in June there was a sharp division of opinion. Holland and Utrecht strongly opposed the idea of a National Synod, Gelder-

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 335; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 35–6.

[2] *Archives*, 2nd Series, II, Nos. 425, 430, 431; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 430–4.

land, Zeeland, Groningen and Friesland were in favour of it, while Overyssel remained doubtful.[1] Maurice had written to his cousin at the beginning of the month to say that he was sure of a majority in the States-General, but Holland could not be moved. The States kept meeting, but did nothing; they were trying to wear down the opposition of the "good towns." Of them Dort was a little cold, but the other four were keen. In the end the Remonstrants would have to be broken, though it might be necessary for the "good provinces" to hold a separate Synod of their own. By the end of the month he was planning to win the sharply divided province of Overyssel to the Contra-Remonstrant side, and a few weeks later by the great demonstration at the Cloister Church he declared that the battle was now fairly joined. He was sure that all would come out right then, though the Arminians tried to move heaven and earth in their opposition.[2]

On June 27th the States-General had postponed their decision until their next meeting in September. Meanwhile the States of Holland met again at the beginning of August and took a step which led rapidly to the tragic outcome of the controversy. On August 4th the famous "sharp resolution" was taken by which the magistrates of the towns were empowered to raise a militia to be a protection against mob violence.[3] The riots at Amsterdam, the Hague, Oudewater and other places, the refusal of Maurice to use the state troops at the bidding of the Committee of Holland, and the threat to enforce a Synod which the great lawyers regarded as unconstitutional, suggested it. A deputation was sent to Prince Maurice, the Princess-Widow and Prince Frederick Henry to ask for their help in carrying out this resolve. The sentiments of Maurice at this ironical stroke of Barnevelt's may better be imagined than described. He had sufficient self-control to give

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 435.

[2] *Archives*, 2nd Series, II, Nos. 433, 434, 438, 439.

[3] Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 37; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 343; Wagenaar, X, 162–63.

his approval provided that the new forces were not used to suppress religious opponents.[1]

The States also passed a resolution in favour of a Provincial Synod to which each of the fifteen Classes of Holland should send two representatives. This was to make another effort for mutual toleration, and to hand on its difficulties to a general Synod of all the Reformed Churches. It was felt that it was impossible for a few provinces to draw up new articles of belief ; if the great question of Predestination were to be discussed it could only be done fittingly in an assembly of the Catholic Church, and, since this was impossible in the divided state of Christendom, by a general Synod of the Protestant communities.[2] It is not difficult to discern the hand of Grotius in this resolution. The ideal of the reunion of Christendom grew steadily in his imagination until the day of his death, and he had a pathetic belief in the value of General Councils. Moreover, he probably knew that at that very time James I was engaged in plans for realizing the same quixotic idea. If this appealed to Grotius it had little attraction for Amsterdam, for that town published a long reply to the States of Holland and a further plea for a National Synod, with many proofs from history of the great value of such gatherings.[3] Grotius was sent as the head of a deputation to Zeeland with the reply to their resolution of May for which they had waited so long. It consisted of a lengthy statement of the whole controversy over secular authority in religious matters and predestination, and detailed the many attempts which the States of Holland had already made towards peace and their determination to spare no efforts in the future to achieve this end. Zeeland was also led to see that the decision of religious controversies was a provincial question, and Holland was not prepared to submit to pressure.[4] Grotius

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 149.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 344, 350 ; Trigland, p. 938.

[3] Ibid., pp. 942–57 ; cf. C. P. Hooft's Speech on the other side. Wagenaar, X, 165 ; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 345–7.

[4] Ibid., II, 350–1.

made his speech on August 14th to the States of Zeeland, and handed in the written document the next day. He and his colleague van Duwenwoorde had a polite reception from the officials, but the crowd was by no means friendly, and, according to Carleton, threatened to throw them into the water, "and at their setting sail, there was a cry of the people from the shore, as if they had been relieved from a siege by an enemy." [1] They had a similar reception afterwards at Dort, being insulted in the streets; Duwenwoorde was encouraged to join the Contra-Remonstrant party after these experiences.[2] Even the nobles of Zeeland did not always preserve their calm courtesy. Heer de Malderé told some Holland deputies that if only some six or seven Arminian bellwethers were hanged matters could readily be arranged. Trigland regards this as a joke or the hasty talk of a soldier, but it was the kind of joke that was soon destined to become grim earnest.[3] Zeeland found itself divided after the reception of the Holland deputation. The few Remonstrant representatives were joined by others who were impressed with the legal argument that Holland must settle its own affairs. After long discussions it was resolved by a majority vote in October to continue to press for a National Synod.

Meanwhile the fatal resolution in favour of the Waartgelders, as the new town mercenaries were called, began to produce its disastrous results. Barnevelt doubtless regarded it as a perfectly legitimate protection of the real authority against possible disorder. Maurice, as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the United Netherlands, saw in it merely the threat of civil war, especially as the new militia took an oath of allegiance to the States of Holland in which no mention was made of Maurice. The principal towns of Holland were at once occupied, and at Leiden an "Arminian Redoubt" was erected round the town hall and barricades in certain

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 164; Wagenaar, X, 166.
[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 380; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 412.
[3] Trigland, p. 935.

streets.[1] Having secured these important positions the Advocate departed for Utrecht, ostensibly for the benefit of his health. It is, however, significant that within a short time six companies of the new militia were raised at Utrecht in spite of the arguments of the States-General, and of the complaints of Maurice himself.[2] If it came to a question of military power and strategy, Barnevelt was a child compared with Maurice. The latter determined to make sure of the ports. Amsterdam and Flushing were his without effort. The great mercantile city had declared its opposition to the "sharp resolve" of August 4th in no equivocal terms.[3] A strategic point was Brielle, where Barnevelt was striving to raise a force of troops obedient to the Remonstrant magistrates. Maurice slipped down the Meuse on the night of September 29th, accompanied by his brother Frederick Henry, and before morning had planted two companies of loyal troops in Brielle. He also summoned the magistrates and compelled them to give up their plan of raising a local militia. Popular rumour declared that he was just in time to save the town from being handed over to Spain. It was a great triumph for the orthodox, for the Church Consistory there had challenged the magistrates to see which party had the harder fists.[4]

While the soldiers were acting, the lawyers were busy discussing the legal and constitutional points that were involved. It was no simple business. No one could exactly define the authority of Stadholder, or of the Advocate of the Committee of the Provincial States. If Holland stood firm by the thirteenth Article of the Union of Utrecht and asserted provincial independence, Amsterdam and the other provinces turned to the first Article,

[1] Trigland, p. 940; cf. Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 135; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 180–7; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 81–3.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 81; Wagenaar, X, 168 ff.; Rogge, *Joh Wten.*, II, 409–39.

[3] Trigland, pp. 968–9 (Deputation at the Hague, September 12th); Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 382.

[4] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 184; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 404; *Archives*, II, No. 448.

which put a great stress on the fact of Union. Technically Grotius and Barnevelt seemed to have the law on their side, but if they pressed their arguments to the issue it would involve the dissolution of the Union altogether. In spite of the bias which Carleton displayed throughout the whole controversy, there is a measure of English common sense in his observation on this subject. Barnevelt, he says, "takes all authority from the States-General in affairs of religion so much as calling a Synod; which he makes matter of distinct sovereignty for every province to dispose therein *ad libitum*: which is (and so I told both him and Grotius, who maintains the same opinion) to dispute questions of their State with the same subtlety as their ministers do their points in religion, and will breed in the end as great disunion in the one as there is distraction in the other."[1] Barnevelt, however, considered that the chief rights of the liberated provinces were at stake, and was prepared to defend them at all hazards. The English Ambassadors had never loved him, and their suspicion that he had no great affection for England was probably correct. His public service began with the unfortunate governorship of Leicester, and he had always found France to be a more serviceable ally than Great Britain. Moreover, his dealings with James I could hardly have increased his respect for the island kingdom. Winwood and Carleton were now encouraging each other in their mistrust of Barnevelt, yet in the last letter of Winwood (now Secretary of State) that we have is an unsolicited testimonial to the great statesman. "I pray you by your next," he says, "in a private and particular letter apart, advertise me at large what is become of Mons. Barnevelt, and what the opinion is that he intendeth to do. I know him well, and know that he hath great powers and abilities, and malice itself must confess, that never man hath done more powerful and faithful service to his country than he."[2] A few days after that letter was written, on November 7th, Winwood died, and Lake stepped into his place as Secretary—a very

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 194. [2] Ibid., p. 193.

different correspondent, who had little confidence in Synods, thinking that men too often left them more exasperated than they were when they met.[1] But it was the business of Carleton to press for the National Synod, and no single individual did more to urge the Calvinists forward. When the States-General met in October he made a great plea for the Synod; "A Scotch Puritan or an extreme Contra-Remonstrant could not have been more vehement."[2] While professing not to judge in their disputes as to the seat of secular authority, he was sure that the cement of the Union of Utrecht was religion. When Carleton spoke of religion he was as definite as Parson Thwackum. He meant the Christian religion, and he meant the Protestant religion, and he meant the Calvinist doctrine of the Protestant religion.[3] The King, his master, had written a letter in favour of a National Synod in March, and had waited six months for an answer; it was high time there was some reply. The speech made a profound impression, and soon found its way into print, both in Dutch and in a French translation. Wtenbogaert declared that it had been made for the Ambassador by some Calvinist official. It is quite likely that men like burgomaster Pauw of Amsterdam, or de Malderé of Zeeland, or even Secretary Duyck might be ready to encourage Carleton to action, but as Trigland truly observes, "His Excellency was no child."[4]

An Arminian reply was speedily forthcoming to the Ambassador's speech. It took the form of a pamphlet of sixty or seventy pages, called *The Balance*, which appeared without the name of the author or publisher. Few publications can have made such a turmoil throughout the whole of this period, and it undoubtedly did serious harm to the cause it was published to support. It is not easy

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 197.

[2] Le Clerc, *Hist.*, I, 326; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 206.

[3] Cf. Trigland, pp. 977–9. "Soo en moet men niet vergeten het Ciment daer mede zy in een Lichaem aen malkanderen verknocht zijn, 'twelke is de Unie van Utrecht ghefundeert op de Religie."

[4] Trigland, p. 979; cf. Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 449 f.

to discover the reason for the animosity it aroused as we turn over its stained and faded pages to-day. It seems a perfectly fair reply to Carleton's speech, following it from point to point. Perhaps the dignity of the Ambassador and even of the King his master are not respected as tenderly as might have been. Indeed, it begins by expressing regret that His Excellency had not a better knowledge of the subject,[1] and proceeds to enlighten him as to the real beginnings of the controversy. Even England had not been entirely free from criticisms of high predestinarian doctrine; there were prelates even then who called the extremists, Zeno's Stoic sect. James I had declared his dislike for these overweening Puritans who thought they had more authority under their black hats than Alexander under his crown.[2] Knox believed in the Queen's authority until the Popish bishops were upset, and then it was well known what Mary Queen of Scots had suffered at the hands of the presbyters.[3] The King's attitude to the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference when he refused to hear of a "Synod," afforded the anonymous author much interesting material. He declared that ecclesiastical decrees were framed in the secret chamber of the palace.[4] Then he proceeded to discuss the legal and constitutional questions involved, finishing with the pointed question whether the Netherlanders or the Ambassadors were best qualified to judge their domestic questions. What would happen if Caron proceeded to interfere in a similar way with the religious problems of England?[5] The thirteenth Article of the Union of Utrecht was quoted at length, and Barnevelt's interpretation given, which was doubtless perfectly legal, but it seemed hardly tactful to defend the levying of the militia by some need of defence against the "canaille."[6] The Contra-Remonstrants naturally made much of this disrespectful treatment of a religious democracy, and still more of the direct method of argument used against

[1] *Weegh Schael*, p. 5.
[2] Ibid., pp. 21–2.
[3] Ibid., pp. 23–8, 39–40.
[4] Ibid., pp. 50, 51.
[5] Ibid., p. 59; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 208.
[6] Ibid., p. 29.

the King. Vorstius had been a worm in comparison with the anonymous lion. Carleton suspected Grotius of the authorship, and demanded discovery of the perpetrator and suitable punishment. The States-General offered a reward of 1,000 guilders for the discovery of the author, and 600 for the discovery of the printer of the book. The States of Holland thought it would be better to appoint a commission to inquire into the question, and asked the States-General to postpone their placard.[1] For months the question of *The Balance* came up in the States' meetings of all kinds, Carleton and his followers becoming more and more indignant at the delay, and the lawyers of Holland temporizing in every possible way. It was nearly a year before it was discovered that the author was Taurinus of Utrecht, who speedily put himself out of reach of the authorities. Carleton was so far right in that Wtenbogaert and Grotius were actually at work on a reply to his oration when *The Balance* appeared, and by its drastic methods made their pamphlet an impossibility.[2] This long discussion and the placard of the States-General only sold the book more, in spite of all attempts to suppress it, and Carleton's indignation knew no bounds when a French translation appeared in February 1618, to which there was a satirical introduction and a picture of the garter in reference to the honour conferred on Maurice by James I.[3] Amsterdam made good use of this insulting production, and the indifferent attitude of Barnevelt and Grotius towards it. From its first appearance its value for propaganda purposes was appreciated. Appeals to the States of Holland to take action against its author were mingled with protests against the levying of the Waartgelders and urgent requests for a National Synod. Amsterdam regarded it as an outrage that the common purse of the States of Holland should be used

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 453–7; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 392; cf. Carleton, *Letters*, p. 207.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 451 f.; cf. Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 209–11, 221, 225 f., etc.

[3] Ibid., II, 470.

to make any contribution to the new local militia, and was by no means satisfied with the reply that her own trained bands were subsidized by the States. Maurice also took up the same subject and, in November, sent a letter to the Councils of the Remonstrant towns of Holland, pointing out that the new militia was both an unnecessary expense and a reflection on himself. He urged that they should be disbanded, and also that the town representatives should come up to the next meeting of the States-General prepared to support the provinces which wished for a National Synod.[1] He was not content to trust to the written word, but went in person, together with Count William of Nassau, to Delft, Rotterdam, Schiedam and Gorcum to address the Town Council in each place along the same lines, adding that the imputation that he was seeking the sovereignty of the United Provinces was false.[2] The fact that his cousin had been able to tear himself away from Leeuwarden and stand by Maurice's side meant that there would be no turning back in the conflict.

Barnevelt found his strongest support not only in the Remonstrant towns of Holland, but also among the nobles of that province. These, too, Maurice endeavoured to win over to his side, but at first he made little impression on them. The most influential Dutch noble was the Count van Kuilenburg,who was away in Germany during the decisive months of the contest. He was so definitely on the side of the Remonstrants that it was rumoured at the height of the struggle between Maurice and Utrecht that that province wished to have Kuilenburg as its Stadholder instead of the son of William the Silent.[3] Such a possibility would have been regarded as very remote in November 1617, but Maurice was leaving no stone unturned in his effort to make good his position. Not content with an appeal to reason, he

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 407 f.; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 414; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 73.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 203.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 490; cf. *Brieven Wten.*, No. 203.

proceeded to get his own supporters into office in the strategic centres. Even Carleton was a little nervous about this bold procedure, but Maurice had weighed up the situation accurately.[1] James I approved of his Ambassador's arguments in favour of moderation, "being himself ever inclined that way: yet, on the other side," he added in characteristic Stuart fashion, "he would have you so temper your counsels, that if the Count Maurice shall see any occasion of advantage and possibility of taking it, that then you leave him to his own judgment."[2] A fierce struggle was also taking place for the vote of the provinces of Gelderland and Overyssel, both of which were sharply divided. In Gelderland the Remonstrants were making progress, and held the towns of Nijmegen, Thiel and Bommel, and the district of the Betuwe, while Zutphen and the Veluwe were equally strong for their opponents. The Remonstrants set out the Calvinist creed in its unloveliest form in ten Articles which became known as the Ten Gelderland Positions, and declared that they would rather cease to be pastors of the Reformed Church than hold such a belief.[3] In Overyssel, Kampen for the Arminians was balanced by Hasselt and Deventer on the other side. Kampen was in some ways the most partisan Arminian town in the country, for a fine of 125 florins was laid on any citizen who ventured to wander outside the gates to find the pure milk of the Calvinist gospel that was denied him within.[4] These were harsh measures, but Utrecht was vainly trying to achieve unity by the same means, while Deventer aimed at the same result by expelling its remaining Arminian preacher.[5] In the end Gelderland showed a majority in the States-General for the Synod, and Overyssel against it; but the minorities were so determined that, as in the case of Amsterdam and her

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 191.
[2] Ibid., p. 198; Buckingham to Carleton, November 10th.
[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 415–17; Baudart, *Memoryen*, X, 38.
[4] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 185.
[5] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 417–21; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 445–47; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 185; Trigland, pp. 797, 993.

sister towns in the province of Holland, they refused to accept a majority decision and sent their respective protests in each case. Utrecht was regarded as the headquarters of the Remonstrant conspiracy in these days, for Barnevelt lingered there recuperating, and Wtenbogaert followed him at the end of August. Wtenbogaert might write to his friends declaring that he would be glad to retire and live there in rest and meditation,[1] but his enemies suspected every action. When the Secretary of the States of Utrecht, van Ledenberg, on September 7th raised six companies of militia it was but natural that the hand of Barnevelt should be seen in the business,[2] and although he refuted the charge in private letters and kept his room when he returned to the Hague at the beginning of November, Maurice was convinced that Utrecht was the centre from which civil war would break out.

Excitement was at its highest when the States-General met at the Hague on November 6th. The sessions were protracted and tumultuous. The proposal in favour of a National Synod was immediately put forward, and the wide differences of opinion in Holland, Gelderland and Overyssel immediately appeared; Utrecht remained solidly against the proposal, and the other provinces equally solidly in favour of it. For a time the proposal was held up by the eloquence of Grotius as the spokesman of Holland, which had thirteen towns and its nobility against the Synod and five towns in favour of it.[3] Urgent appeals to Holland to yield were in vain, and in the end the resolution in favour of a Synod was carried by a majority vote. It was decided that it should be summoned by the States-General, each Provincial Synod sending six representatives, of whom four or at least three should be preachers. The Professors of Theology were to be present, and also representatives from the Walloon Churches. Great Britain, France and Hesse were to be invited to send three or four representa-

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 184.
[2] Wagenaar, X, 168.
[3] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 194–5; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 387.

tives, and afterwards Bremen and Geneva were invited to be represented. The five points of the Remonstrance were to be considered first, and then other charges. Notes might be sent by preachers who were not members of the Synod by permission of the Moderator. The decision of the majority was to be final, and the findings would be authorized by the States-General.[1] There was considerable discussion as to the place of meeting. Utrecht, the Hague and Dort were the rival towns. James I had objected to the first "as a town which hath always been given to sedition and mutiny, is now wholly inclined to the Arminian faction, and lately encouraged therein by the presence of Mons. Barnevelt."[2] These charges could hardly be made against Dort, which was chosen on November 20th. Provincial Synods were to be held before February 1st to choose representatives, and to prepare for the National Synod that was to follow. When the whole arrangements for the Synod were read out in the assembly on November 24th the representatives of the minority got up and walked out. The next day they published their protest against this decision, Holland standing firmly on its provincial rights, and declaring the action of the States-General to be illegal.

The States of Holland had not met for some time, owing to Barnevelt's absence. Their meeting in December was marked by the usual division. Amsterdam wanted the Provincial Synod immediately with full obedience to the wishes of the States-General. The Remonstrant towns could not agree to this, in spite of the visits Maurice had paid to them. They could go no further than to agree to a Provincial Synod to which some outside theologians should be invited. The doctrinal question ought to be referred to a General Council of the Reformed Churches. The sessions were made noteworthy by a last appeal of the French Ambassador du Maurier for unity, and by a request of Barnevelt on December 13th that he might be allowed

[1] Trigland, p. 994; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 74.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 199.

to retire.[1] This could not be permitted at this juncture, and the net result of the meeting of the States and its Committee was the postponement of the Synod, which no device of the politicians could now avert altogether.

Such was the situation at the end of 1617. Maurice and William Lewis were steadily working to secure control of all the provinces. Barnevelt had entered upon his seventy-first year, and entered the Council Chamber leaning on a stick. His proud resolution was, however, unbroken, though he was well aware that the strength of his party was declining. During the year he had defeated Amsterdam's project for a West Indian Company because he believed it was wiser to concentrate on the East Indies, and he had no desire to develop new grounds for quarrel with Spain.[2] This was another proof of his disloyalty and another reason for Amsterdam's opposition. He had lost, too, the support of the High Court of Justice, which had sustained the appeal of a citizen of Haarlem against the town's decree of banishment against him for refusing to take the new militia oath.[3] So strongly was the High Court turning against the Remonstrants that the chief supporter of Barnevelt among the lawyers there, Rembout Hogerbeets, was glad to leave the Court to take up his old work again as Pensionary of Leiden. The riots in Amsterdam, the insults to Grotius in the street at Veere and Dort, and to Wtenbogaert at his own door in the Hague[4] were clear signs that the Arminians would receive but short shrift from the crowd. Louise de Coligny, du Maurier and a few outsiders might still hope that a way of reconciliation was possible, but the chief actors could have little doubt of the outcome of it all.

The beginning of 1618 was marked by the news of the birth of a grandson to James I at Heidelberg, and

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 460; Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 410–15; Trigland, pp. 963–7, 1040–48; cf. Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 176–7.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 182; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 446.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, II, 395–400; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 85.

[4] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 153; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 463.

by the death of Philip William, the eldest son of William the Silent, in February.[1] The passing of the Catholic head of the Orange family merely meant that Maurice now became Prince of Orange; but he had been Prince Maurice to the Netherlanders now for many years. He was too absorbed in his plans "to grind the Advocate and all his followers to fine meal," [2] to take much heed of this change of title. The constant feuds over public worship continued at Schiedam, Brielle, Oudewater, Büren and other places as fiercely as ever. In some cases there were riots, elsewhere preachers were violently expelled, sometimes the two parties settled down to open schism.[3] A new feature of the situation was that the Contra-Remonstrants had discovered that if the magistrates were against them it was safe to appeal to the High Court of Justice of Holland. It was in vain that the States of Holland tried to intervene by saying that the settlement of local religious disputes was a matter of state policy; the lawyers maintained that individual rights were being affected, and the Arminian magistrates of towns like Leiden and Haarlem found their authority undermined.[4]

The policy of Maurice became more clear now from day to day. In January he went to the Arminian town of Nijmegen, summoned all the magistrates to appear before him, dismissed the lot and appointed a new set of councillors.[5] He then proceeded to the meeting of the States of Gelderland at Arnhem, more sure of a majority there than ever, and received hearty congratulations for his action from that pliant assembly and complete approval for his arguments against the new militia and in favour of a National Synod. It was in vain that Holland pressed its point of view on Gelderland. The voice of the soldier was too powerful.

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 228–44; Baudart, *Memoryen*, X, 99.

[2] Wagenaar, X, 20.

[3] Baudart, *Memoryen*, X, 1–6; Brandt, II, 426–33; Trigland, pp. 1024–39.

[4] Brandt, II, 402–5, 428.

[5] Wagenaar, X, 195 f.; Brandt, II, 433–35; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 467; Baudart, *Memoryen*, IX, 94; X, 7–8.

Remonstrant delegates to the States-General were removed, and even Count Culemburg barely escaped censure by a majority of 1 in a house of 71 members.[1] Having achieved such excellent results at Gelderland in March Maurice proceeded to attack the more difficult proposition of Overyssel in May. His success there was still more important. Kampen was prepared to die in the last ditch for the Arminian faction, but Zwolle was won over to the side of the Stadholder and a clear majority was thus secured.[2] Utrecht was now left as the sole supporter of the majority towns of Holland, and became very nervous about its isolation. Gun positions were prepared on the walls, and it was said that Ledenberg was inclined to close the gates against the Stadholder. It was like a city in a state of siege, with all its river approaches controlled by Contra-Remonstrant towns.[3] The time was, however, not yet come for the decisive blow at Utrecht. Maurice contented himself with visits to Hasselt, Deventer, Zwolle and Kampen, finishing his tour with a triumphal procession into Amsterdam on May 23rd. He was met at Muiden on the Zuider Zee by a fleet of yachts and conducted through the water gates of the Y into the city. A welcoming placard greeted Maurice as the new Messiah: *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Dei.* The city fathers exhausted their eloquence in speeches and their ingenuity in allegorical representations to express their joy. The enthusiasm of the crowds was displayed by songs and cheering, and a universal display of the Orange colours. The next day being Ascension Day, Maurice went to church with the multitudes and rejoiced in the coming triumph of true Reformation principles.[4]

Meanwhile the controversy over the calling of the Synod had continued with increasing bitterness. The

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 254-60, 261; Brandt, II, 434; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 468.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, X, 31; Trigland, p. 1059; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 261; Brandt, II, 436.

[3] Baudart, X, 33; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 468; Brandt, II, 435-6.

[4] Baudart, *Memoryen*, X, 3-33; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 469.

States of Holland had met in February and received the report of their Committee which had been appointed to draw up a scheme. The Committee reported in favour of a Provincial Synod. So far all parties were agreed, but the Remonstrants wanted to use a Provincial Synod to compose their differences, while their opponents wanted it merely as a preparation for the National Synod which should follow immediately. They regarded the talk of Grotius and his friends about a General Council of the Protestant Churches to discuss the doctrinal question afterwards as a mere subterfuge to postpone all inquiry to the Greek Kalends.[1] Moreover, there was no agreement as to the actual composition of the Provincial Synod. The Remonstrants were inclined to the idea that the two parties should be equally represented, which would make it more like a Conference than a Synod, while the Calvinists naturally expected that it would be chosen in a constitutional way by equal numbers of representatives from each Classis in North and South Holland respectively.[2] Amsterdam and Enkhuizen called in their leading theologians, Polyander and Walaeus, to advise them. They drew up reasoned and strong protests against the majority report and presented them in uproarious meetings of the States of Holland on March 23rd and 24th. Barnevelt's idea of a Provincial Synod with help from a few peaceful preachers from Reformed Churches abroad received special criticism. It seemed absurd to call foreign divines to a Provincial Synod. It was useless pretending that fundamental questions were not involved, and therefore a Provincial Synod would only waste its time if it dealt with matters affecting the whole State. Attempts had been made to confine the question to the five points of the Remonstrance, but the result had been harmful. Moreover, the other provinces would never agree to the binding force of their decisions and the National Synod would be prejudiced by their discussions. The National Synod must come; it had

[1] Baudart, X, 24.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, 480; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 239–40.

been asked for ever since 1589, agreed to in 1606, and was the solution which Arminius had persistently expected.[1] The statement of the Arminians followed the usual lines. It was a plea for mutual accommodation to avoid the schism to which they seemed to be inevitably moving. A National Synod, they declared, would be a Synod of Centaurs and Lapithæ. Dort, too, was an impossible place of meeting. It was impossible to find any neutral preachers who could act as umpires between the two parties. The lawyers' arguments in favour of provincial rights reappeared, but there could be no give and take when the cleavage of opinion was so marked.[2]

It was something for Barnevelt to agree to a Provincial Synod, but he was too late. He should have listened to Wtenbogaert a year before. The latter thought that the expulsion of the Remonstrants could not now be avoided, but even that was better than civil war. Barnevelt thought that the situation might still be saved. Wtenbogaert had no such illusion. He told the Advocate that the militia would be dismissed, the National Synod would come, and then they might both expect to be victims.[3] He sent in his resignation to the Church Consistory at the Hague, and received in April a long letter of regret suggesting that an assistant should be called in as Wtenbogaert's health was bad. On April 22nd John Taurinus, the brother of the author of *The Balance*, was called from Delft and Wtenbogaert considered that his ministry at the Hague was at an end. He remained by the side of the Advocate, however, until the latter was arrested. Then Wtenbogaert left the country and found that the orthodox party considered him to be still a minister of the Church at the Hague and therefore capable of being expelled from the ministry.[4] As for Barnevelt, he was said to have declared

[1] Brandt, II, 463–9; Trigland, pp. 1051–9.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 482–4; Trigland, pp. 1044–8; Brandt, II, 448–55, 470–87.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 485.

[4] *Brieven Wten.*, Nos. 191, 192; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 486; cf. 465.

that there should be no National Synod in Holland so long as he lived. When the Synod did meet, Barnevelt was in prison; "so," says Baudart humorously, "his prophecy was fulfilled, for he was dead to civilian life." [1]

The same sessions of the Estates of Holland were made noteworthy by a long declaration of the representatives of Haarlem against the attacks that were being made on old rights and privileges of the towns. They affirmed that under the cloak of religion a party had risen up which oppressed individuals, set up factions in the community, and by scurrilous libels, songs and pamphlets destroyed the authority of the magistrates. Good government was passing away and peaceable citizens were in danger of being driven out of the country. They were disinclined to pay their share of the taxes unless the old Constitution was restored. The orders of the States of Holland must be observed. By old custom the will of the majority was the rule there, except in the business of war and taxation, when unanimity was required. The magistrates must be freely chosen and their authority maintained. No appeals to the Courts of Justice should be allowed save those that went in a regular way from the Civil and Criminal Courts of the towns. Soldiers quartered in towns should take a special oath to obey the local authority in the preservation of order, and their cost should be defrayed by the States.[2] This pointed to the Waartgelders and could hardly satisfy Amsterdam. The Remonstrant towns supported Haarlem, while Amsterdam asked for time for consideration, and eventually produced a colourless statement in which it was declared that the true authority of Stadholder, Estates Courts of Justice and Magistrates must be obeyed by all without specifying what these respective authorities were. All could agree to that; the trouble began with the definition. Carleton's account of this discussion is characteristic. "The States of Holland," he says on February 9th, "are as far from agreement as our Churchmen; some of them (and those of the best towns, though of the worse party)

[1] Baudart, X, 71: "mortuus civiliter." [2] Brandt, II, 436–40.

like curst cows, refusing to let down their milk, and cannot hitherto by any persuasion be induced to yield their wonted contributions, unless they may have their wills in these new opinions."[1] It was the end of May before this dispute was patched up.

Carleton expected to go on leave to England in the summer, and was determined to get a satisfactory reply to the plea of James I for a National Synod before he left. Clarendon believed that he stirred up the King against the Arminians.[2] His correspondence leaves little doubt as to the truth of that statement. He had convinced James by the end of 1617 that Grotius was the author of *The Balance*, but he was compelled to eradicate that belief a month later. Taurinus of Utrecht was now suspect, but Grotius and Wtenbogaert must have helped him. He made another oration in the States-General, demanding that Utrecht should be compelled to punish the offender. He took the opportunity to show that the procedure of settling religious disputes through Provincial Synods to a National Synod was exactly the method of the Anglican Church.[3] This was an astonishing statement; but Carleton was prepared to go further than that. He explained the whole of the proceedings of the Hampton Court Conference in a manner agreeable to Contra-Remonstrant plans and predilections. A month later, on February 28th, he made a third appeal for decisive action against the author of *The Balance*.[4] He continued this steady pressure until he got away to London on May 30th, rewarded by the States-General with a gold chain for his services, and carrying the good news that the National Synod was to meet on November 1st.[5]

The French Ambassador, du Maurier, continued to use his influence in an opposite direction, and made an urgent appeal to the States of Holland on May 18th

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 239.

[2] Le Clerc, *Histoire*, I, 319, quoting Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*.

[3] Baudart, X, 20–21; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 228, 234, 238; Trigland, pp. 1019–20.

[4] Ibid., p. 1020.

[5] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 487.

in favour of peace and reconciliation.[1] Du Maurier was a Huguenot, a great believer in Barnevelt, and a sincere lover of peace; but his eloquent phrases represent merely labour wasted. In August he was joined by a special envoy from France, de Boisisse, who came in time to witness the arrest of the Advocate and the downfall of any hopes that France might have cherished of the triumph of his party. The old statesman was the victim throughout the year of a bitter and scurrilous pamphlet war. In June the States of Holland tried to stop these publications, but they continued to pour out from the press, enough in this one year, says Baudart, to make a volume three or four times as big as a Bible.[2] *The Arminian Dung-cart*, *The Arminian Road to Spain*, *Golden Legend of the New St. John, or Short Account of the nobility, virtues and actions of Master John of Oldenbarnevelt*—such were the titles of a few, which suggest the possible contents. The patriotic servant of his country now appeared as a traitor, a tyrant, a free-thinker ready to rob the land both of its liberties and its religion. Perhaps the worst of these pamphleteers were Aerssen, who was destined to take Barnevelt's place as Holland's leading statesman, and an Amsterdam lawyer of low character named Danckaarts. Danckaarts had the support of many of the leading merchants of his city, and it is very difficult to understand how they could have believed that Barnevelt had received a bribe of 120,000 ducats from Spain, while Wtenbogaert had to be content with 80,000.[3] Aerssen was still more of a problem. It was Barnevelt who had given him his start in the state service as Ambassador to France, but since his return he had regarded the Advocate with special antagonism. It was more than likely that he wrote the poisonous libel which was entitled *The Necessary Discourse and Practices of the Spanish Council*,[4] and it is cer-

[1] Brandt, II, 440–2.

[2] Baudart, X, 35-6 with list; cf. Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 194, note 1; Wagenaar, X, 204.

[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 474–8.

[4] *Nootwendich discours ende Practyke van den Spaenschen raedt.*

tain that the attack on Barnevelt and his son-in-law van der Myle in the *Provisionale Openinghe* in June was by him. Perhaps the proud isolation of the great statesman generated suspicion. The Advocate would have passed these libels by with contemptuous silence, but Louise de Coligny urged him to speak. On April 20th he wrote a dignified letter to the Prince in which he spoke of his thirty-six years of loyal service to the State, his constant efforts for peace, and his present hope of helping in that cause. He was quite frank in saying that the majority vote of the States-General for a National Synod was illegal, and begged the Prince not to listen to the falsehoods that were being propagated. Enclosed with the letter was a Remonstrance to the States of Holland, in which he gave a survey of his political career. He expounded his own financial position in detail, showing the development of his great wealth by inheritance, by economy, by reclaiming land, and the sale of property. He made it clear that it was impossible for him to have received untold Spanish gold.[1] The documents were handed over to Maurice by van der Myle, who shortly afterwards published on his own account a vigorous defence of his father-in-law's career and character. These apologies only provoked further attacks. Carleton has told us all we know of Maurice's reply. "His Excellency took time to peruse the letter, and a day or two following, calling to Mons. van der Myle, as he passed by his window, told him he neither admitted the premises nor the conclusion, many things which were set down in the letter *de facto* being apparently false: whereupon he recounted a story of an old man, who in his youth having feigned many things, and told them often for truth, believed them, when he came to age, to be true indeed; which he left to Mons. van der Myle's application, and the letter likewise without further answer." [2]

At the end of June the States-General came to their

[1] Brandt, II, 455-8; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 478; Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 194–201.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 269.

final decision. The two Stadholders were present in the session of July 28th when the Arminian towns made their last protest against a National Synod. They were ready to allow action against any preachers who were disloyal to the *Confession* and *Catechism*, they would extend the scope of the Provincial Synod so that representatives from each province might attend the Holland Synod in the interests of peace, and if a month or six weeks produced no good result they would call in foreign divines for some new definition of the faith if necessary. Such an attempt at compromise was more than hopeless, for on June 25th the States-General had sent out to every province letters of summons to the National Synod at Dort, and also appeals to James I, the Churches of France and various States in which the reformed religion was observed that they should send representatives.[1] Holland was weakening in its resistance, for Schiedam had now joined the Contra-Remonstrant towns, but it was not prepared to relinquish its sovereign rights without another struggle. It refused to receive the summons of the States-General and sent it back unopened. It protested against the Synod being held in its territory without its sanction, and appealed to Dort to show its loyalty by refusing hospitality to the Synod. It also sent out letters to the foreign Powers with which the States-General was in correspondence, in which the arguments against the National Synod were set out.[2] The letter to James I was the most elaborate. His own attitude to the Presbyterians in Scotland, to the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference and to the subject of Predestination in former years came under review. The rights of the secular authority, the dread of schism, the adequacy of the decisions of early Church Councils were discussed once more ; echoes of Grotius are heard in every sounding phrase. Prince Maurice and Count William Lewis immediately countered this by ordering Bogerman to

[1] Brandt, II, 488–90 ; Trigland, pp. 1060–7 ; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 487–9 ; Baudart, X, 238 ; Wagenaar, X, 238.

[2] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, Nos. 304, 305 ; Trigland, p. 1070.

write to Carleton, who was then in England, that he might advise the King "not to pay any regard to these letters."[1]

The resolution to proceed with the National Synod in spite of the opposition of Holland and Utrecht was not the only decisive result of these sessions of the States-General. It was decided on July 2nd to disband the new militia. It was the eighteenth anniversary of Maurice's great victory at Nieuwpoort, and therefore a fitting day on which to put the crown of triumph on the policy of the Stadholder.[2] Alarm spread rapidly in Remonstrant circles, and nowhere was it more manifest than at Utrecht. A deputation under the leadership of the Secretary of the Council was at once sent to the Hague with secret orders to interview Maurice with a view to yielding to the orders of the States-General. The motives for this decision were firstly fear and secondly economy. In an unlucky hour for van Ledenberg it was thought better to discover the attitude of Holland before Maurice was interviewed. It was the afternoon of July 3rd, and it was a difficult matter to find the leading officials of the States of Holland. At last the pensionaries of Leiden, Rotterdam and Gouda were collected at the house of Wtenbogaert to meet Ledenberg.[3] Grotius and Hogerbeets made it clear that Holland would not receive orders from the States-General, and another meeting was arranged for July 5th. This took place at the house of Daniel Tresel, the former Secretary of the States-General. The conference consisted of three Utrecht representatives, with four of Holland, three of whom were the officials who had been present on the former occasion. Grotius and Ledenberg seem to have been the chief speakers. The Utrecht case was that they were surrounded by possible antagonists, that the expense of the troops was becoming unbearable, and that it was clear that the Prince was displeased.[4]

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 273.
[2] Baudart, X, 55; Trigland, p. 1073; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 489.
[3] Wagenaar, X, 216; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 490–1.
[4] Wagenaar, X, 212–13; Trigland, p. 1095.

Grotius pointed out that to disband their militia was to throw away their sovereignty altogether. The Prince had shown in the case of Oudewater that he was little inclined to support the authority of the magistrates with troops under his command. He pleaded with them to stand side by side with Holland, and held out hopes that some financial aid would be forthcoming.[1] The result was that Maurice never saw the Utrecht deputation, but instead he received Barnevelt and the thirty representatives of the nobles and towns of Holland to point out the reasonableness of their militia and to declare that they were willing to disband them if Maurice could keep order in the towns by means of native troops in place of the foreign mercenaries.[2]

But Maurice had other plans than these. The States-General, a few days later, appointed representatives to accompany Maurice to Utrecht to dismiss the Waartgelders. The next day, July 23rd, a remnant of the States of Holland appointed a commission of four, including Grotius and Hogerbeets, to proceed to Utrecht to support provincial privileges. With the exception of Amsterdam the "good" towns were unrepresented at this gathering of the States of Holland, having left under the impression that the meetings were over. They naturally regarded the deputation as unauthorized.[3] Grotius and his colleagues arrived in Utrecht on July 25th at eight in the morning, and about noon were introduced to the States Assembly. Grotius made a diplomatic speech on the constitutional rights of each province to manage its own affairs, and on the close and long-standing fellowship of Holland and Utrecht. The real question was, whom would the troops obey? There were present in the town not merely the Waartgelders who had taken an oath of allegiance to the local authority, but the regular forces under the command of an Englishman, Sir John Ogle, and in the pay of the States of Holland. Ogle now flatly refused to act against the Stadholder and the States-General, and

[1] Wagenaar, X, 210–12, 214 f.
[2] Ibid., X, 217, 218.
[3] Ibid., X, 219; cf. *Verhoeren*, van de Groot, p. 111.

the oldest company commander of the Waartgelders, van Harteveld, had actually said the same.[1] The Arminian party was therefore in no happy position when Maurice arrived the same evening accompanied by several representatives of the States-General. It was the annual Kermis, or fair, and the city was more crowded than usual. When the city fathers came to welcome the Prince he asked them whether they expected such a guest at their fair.[2] The next day Maurice let the Holland representatives clearly understand how unwelcome their presence was. "People have tried," he said, "to introduce five false points into divine worship: they have wanted to remove me from my Stadholdership and drive me out of the land. But I have laid my plans, and know very well what I am doing. I have five provinces on my side, and the six towns of Holland will send representatives to Utrecht to support me here."[3] He declared emphatically that the National Synod must be held and the militia must be dismissed. "These Waartgelders are worse than the Spanish fortresses."[4] Finally he put all the blame on Barnevelt. He had not come to Utrecht, however, to argue on legal points, but to act. During the night of July 30th–31st he introduced new troops into the town and ordered the regular garrison to stand to arms about sunrise. The Neude Square was the scene of the disbandment of the militia. One company after another laid down their arms without a murmur, such was the authority of Maurice, backed by the consciousness that the approaches were all guarded by his troops. The burghers came down to their breakfast to learn that their six companies of militia, with 150 men in each company, had all returned to the life of peaceful citizens again. So the great revolution had passed without bloodshed.[5] Leden-

[1] Wagenaar, X, 229–31; Brandt, II, 497–8.
[2] Ibid., II, 494.
[3] Wagenaar, X, 223.
[4] Ibid., X, 224.
[5] Ibid., X, 232; Trigland, p. 289. See vivid account of Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 233–5.

berg, Grotius and their friends deemed it prudent to retire. The change in the government of the town followed shortly afterwards. Hitherto Nijmegen was the only town in which Maurice had ventured to put in his own magistrates, and there he had some show of right, as it was a frontier town and under the special authority of the Stadholder. Now expediency put all constitutional questions aside. He went to the town hall on August 4th, removed Ledenberg from office, and announced his intention of changing the whole of the forty magistrates then and there. They were to supply forty more names, and the Prince would add twenty more. From the total of a hundred he chose a new forty, of whom only fourteen were on the previous list, and these were of the Prince's party. This college was a permanent one, and not subject to annual election as heretofore. Nothing now remained but to hand the cathedral over to the Calvinists, and such was the change of sentiment that by October a great congregation of 3,000 had gathered there in the very capital of Arminianism.[1]

Maurice left Utrecht on August 12th and proceeded at once to the meeting of the States-General at the Hague. There he received the hearty congratulations not only of the States-General, but also of Amsterdam and her sister towns.[2] The decisive battle had now been fought, and the possibility of real opposition to the Stadholder was small. Grotius had retired to Rotterdam thoroughly alarmed by his experiences at Utrecht and ready to avoid civil war at any cost. By his advice the Rotterdam militia was disbanded on August 19th before any application of force was made.[3] Leiden had already sent in a complaint of the conduct of their militia to the States-General, begging that they might be dismissed. The answer was a general order for the dismissal of all the Waartgelders which the States-General published on August 21st, in spite

[1] Baudart, X, 56–7 ; cf. Carleton, *Letters*, 274 f., for Maurice's account. Brandt, II, 493–500 ; Trigland, p. 1091.

[2] Wagenaar, X, 235 ; Baudart, X, 58.

[3] Brandt, II, 505 f.

of all the arguments of the towns of Holland in favour of postponing the placard for a few days. Leiden obeyed on the 23rd, and the city rejoiced to be free of the troops which had been the cause of friction for months. Special irritation had been caused there by the erection of barricades and by the attempt to produce the impression of a city in a state of siege. In May there had been public riots against the militia, and many acts of violence had taken place.[1] The other towns followed the example of Leiden, and the Advocate was left defenceless, while all available forces were at the disposition of Maurice. Within a little more than a year the policy of the "Sharp Resolve" had utterly broken down, and the Waartgelders departed "unwept, unhonoured and unsung."[2]

Although the question of the militia was decided by the happenings at Utrecht, the Remonstrants still continued their opposition to the National Synod. At least, if they agreed to such a gathering, it was with such reservations that made it impossible to their opponents. The nobles of Holland and all the leading towns of the same province were all making separate declarations and drawing up separate schemes for the Synod on August 24th and 25th.[3] Two months had now passed since the letters of summons had gone out, and the Synod was due to assemble in little more than two months' time. It seemed futile to continue the discussion in the opinion of Maurice, but the two parties still continued their arguments. Barnevelt has said that in three hours more unanimity would have been achieved. Maurice was not prepared to wait for three more hours. He had determined to secure unity by removing the opposition. On August 29th, as they entered the Binnenhof to attend the meeting of the States of Holland, Barnevelt, Grotius and Hogerbeets were lured to an inner room to see the Prince, and promptly put under arrest. They were taken separately, they were separately

[1] Wagenaar, X, 235 f.; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 492; Trigland, p. 1091.
[2] Cf. Baudart, X, 10–20, for Leiden disturbances.
[3] For details see Brandt, II, 507–13; Wagenaar, X, 289.

imprisoned. There was no legality about the action nor in the trial that followed. It was done in the territory of Holland, apparently on the orders of Maurice and the three representatives of the States-General who had been sent with him to disband the Utrecht militia.[1] They evidently regarded it as part of the same business, for the same day a messenger was sent to Utrecht to secure the arrest of Ledenberg, the chief actor for Barnevelt's party there.

The arrest came with the shock of a great surprise to the States of Holland, who made an energetic protest the same day, declaring that the case was in their jurisdiction. They were some time, however, in reaching this conclusion, silence being followed by complete distraction, which was explained by the remark of van Mathenesse: "You have taken away from us our head, our tongue and our hand; and therefore you must expect nothing from us but to sit still and look on."[2] The States-General defended the validity of the action and Maurice sheltered himself behind the States-General. Amsterdam and all the strong Calvinist centres thoroughly approved the arrest; the Arminians felt that it was a piece of absolute tyranny; neutrals considered that it was unnecessary, since the militia had all been disbanded and Maurice had got his way about the Synod.

If the arrest came as a surprise to others, it could hardly have done so to the victims themselves. Weeks before Grotius had warned Barnevelt of the advisability of finding some safe retreat for himself, but the Advocate thought that Maurice would be satisfied with the course of events and would press his victory no further. The afternoon of the day before the blow fell Barnevelt was sitting in his garden, when he received a definite warning from Councillor Berkhout and a friend that he would be imprisoned. "Yes," he said, "there are wicked men about," and raising his hat to close the conversation added, "Gentlemen, I thank you for your

[1] Wagenaar, X, 252–56; Brandt, II, 514–18; Baudart, X, 62.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 281; Wagenaar, X, 255.

warning." Wtenbogaert called to see him at 7 o'clock the next morning and found him sitting inactive with his back to his desk. This was so unusual that he set to work to comfort him by speaking of many patriots who had been ungratefully treated by their country. The business that brought Wtenbogaert round so early to Barnevelt's house was the last plea of the Remonstrants for a free Synod, since at length they were willing to agree to one. The Advocate put the paper in a cloth corn-bag in which his servant used to carry his documents. It was his intention to read it to the States-General that day. "Trust in God," said Wtenbogaert in parting. "Be strong; God protect you;" and the two friends shook hands for the last time.[1] The same night Wtenbogaert left the Hague secretly for Rotterdam, and shortly afterwards crossed the frontiers and found refuge in Antwerp. There he was presently joined by Taurinus and Grevinchoven, who were both marked men as being most powerful among the debaters on the Remonstrant side.[2]

Carleton had returned from some weeks' furlough in England to the Hague late on the night before the arrest, and appears to have had no suspicion of what was to happen, however much he might approve of it. At the moment of the arrest Barnevelt's son-in-law, van der Myle, was at Carleton's house, and was equally unconscious of impending disaster. When he learned the news two hours later he took Barnevelt's eldest son, van Groeneveld, and the other son-in-law Veenhuizen, to interview the Prince and to ask that the Advocate might be imprisoned in his own house. At first Maurice received them with courtesy, and kept up his rôle as the servant of the States-General, whose work this was. "Your father shall suffer no more harm than I shall." Veenhuizen began to apologize for Barnevelt's attitude to the occupation of the Cloister Church by the Cal-

[1] Wagenaar, X, 253; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 493–95; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 1 f.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 496–502; Baudart, X, 66; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 291.

vinists. At the mention of the Cloister Church Maurice broke out angrily, "Whoever says a word against the Cloister Church, his feet shall not carry him away from this place."[1] It was very clear to the Advocate's family that they were opposed by a relentless foe. Van der Myle and his brothers-in-law made a protest to the States-General the next day, but received no reply. Two of the other nobles endeavoured to break into the room where the Advocate was, but were put under arrest for the night. The unpopularity of the Advocate's family was presently increased by the departure of van der Myle without leave first to Rotterdam and then to Paris, where he did his best to secure the support of the French statesmen to secure for Barnevelt at least a fair trial. It is a year before we find him back again in Holland.[2] The States of Holland could get no satisfaction on the question of the illegality of the arrest, and broke up their sessions on August 30th with the idea of securing new orders from each represented town. In the meantime matters were left *in statu quo*, the hope being expressed that the persons should be well treated. As for the towns, Rotterdam asked that Grotius should be sent to his house there and Leiden made the same petition for Hogerbeets. Maurice turned a deaf ear to them both. Other towns passed resolutions in favour of a trial of the prisoners by their masters, the States of Holland, and protested against any infringement of their privileges.[3]

Almost the last act of the States of Holland before separating was to agree to the immediate summons for the Provincial Synods of North and South Holland, which were to be preparatory to the National Synod.[4] This was passed with practical unanimity, so that Maurice had got his way. His action against the four leaders can only be explained either by personal enmity or by

[1] Wagenaar, X, 258; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 281.

[2] Ibid., X, 258 f.; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 291, 297, 304, 435 f.

[3] Brandt, II, 517 f. On the legal question see Grotius, *Apologeticus*, pp. 250 ff.; Regenboog, *Historie der Rem.*, pp. 332 f.

[4] Wagenaar, X, 263.

the fact that Maurice really believed that they were making preparations for civil war and in secret alliance with Spain. The Remonstrant towns said that if any treachery of that kind were discovered, no mercy ought to be shown to the culprits. It is clear from the long examinations of Barnevelt and Grotius that not a shred of evidence of a Spanish plot could be discovered by a bench of judges who were in many cases personal enemies of the accused. At this distance of time it is difficult to understand how Barnevelt in particular, an old man tottering on a stick, who had given a life of unremitting toil to the task of building up the United Netherlands against Spain, should now be suspected of being in the pay of his lifelong foe. But it was a period marked by treachery and by rapid changes from side to side, and Maurice had taken up the cause of religious leaders who seemed prepared to believe anything of the other side. It is at least clear that Maurice was resolved to suppress the opposition of the States of Holland, and to put into office in all the Remonstrant towns magistrates who were prepared to give him support.[1]

The months of September and October were chiefly used by the Stadholder in making a tour of the whole of Holland and altering the government in each town. The procedure was similar in all cases. Maurice would enter the town with a band of soldiers and a long train of wagons, proceed to the town hall and summon the councillors to appear. Then he would demand their resignation and present them with a new list which his supporters had drawn up, declaring that these were the new Councillors. The proportion of old magistrates that were retained in these Councils of forty, thirty-six or twenty that ruled so drastically in these old towns depended entirely on the strength of the Remonstrant representation. Amsterdam would preserve many, while places like Alkmaar and Hoorn saw great changes. Only at Hoorn was there any danger of armed resistance, but

[1] Baudart, X, 66–70. Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 289–91, 293–6 f. "Until the towns be thus reformed, that he may have plurality of voices in the assembly of Holland, he doth not proceed against their Advocate."

the military precautions of the Prince and his clever handling of the crowd prevented it. At Amsterdam the veteran C. P. Hooft made a long speech in favour of constitutional methods to which Maurice patiently listened [1] but met with his usual argument and an unusual title of half-contemptuous familiarity: "It must be so this time, old man [bestevaar]. Necessity and the service of the State demand it." [2] This was the last of the visitations, and took place on November 2nd. He returned to the Hague to meet a new assembly of the States of Holland which was entirely submissive to his will. It had been completely reorganized and passed a solemn vote of congratulation to him on his successful tour. It had begun on September 7th at Schoonheven, had been continued to Brielle, Delft, Schiedam, Gorcum, Oudewater and Woerden, all of which were reformed by the end of September. The month of October saw similar changes at Monnikendam, Edam, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Medenblik, Purmerend, Alkmaar, Leiden, Haarlem, Rotterdam and Gouda. Maurice's plea at each place was the same; "This time only," he would say, and "the peace of the State demands it." High-handed though the procedure was, it was no mean achievement to have secured complete authority throughout the province without shedding one drop of his countrymen's blood, although large numbers of the most influential citizens had been politely dismissed from office and sent back to private life.[3] The last change of magistrates was made at the Hague on the Prince's return, and the only unreformed town was Dort; but, as that was sufficiently Contra-Remonstrant already, there was no need of a formal change. The only remaining obstacle was to be found in the nobility of Utrecht and Holland. Among these the friends of Barnevelt were still in a decided majority. By making suitable additions to these colleges of nobles Maurice won them

[1] C. P. Hooft, *Memoryen*, pp. 327–31.

[2] Wagenaar, X, 280; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 6.

[3] Brandt, II, 519–31; Baudart, X, 66–70; Trigland, 1096 f.; Wagenaar, X, 265–82; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 302–9.

also over to his side and all was now ready to secure judgment against the prisoners.[1]

While Maurice was making these political transformations the preparations for the National Synod were going forward steadily, and an equally partisan representation was being secured in the ecclesiastical sphere. In most cases the Provincial Synods sent six delegates to Dort, four of whom were usually ministers and two elders; with the exception of half the Utrecht representatives, every representative was a reliable Calvinist. This flagrant misrepresentation of the ministry and laity of the Reformed Churches of the United Provinces was secured by a clever manipulation of the Classes and Provincial Synods. In places where the Remonstrants were in a minority they were simply voted down, and in cases where they had a majority the two parties met separately and sent an equal number of representatives to the higher Court. As many of the Remonstrant preachers in Holland refused to attend the Provincial Synods, they were drastically Contra-Remonstrant. In Overyssel the two parties met separately, but the Remonstrants were simply ignored. In Utrecht there were only five Contra-Remonstrant preachers, and the unpopular party was in an overwhelming majority. Nevertheless, two separate Synods were held, the minority in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, and the majority in St. Catherine's Convent, the representation to Dort being shared equally between them.[2] The first to meet was the Gelderland Synod, which held prolonged sessions from June 25th to July 28th. They spent a great deal of time in considering the Ten Calvinist Positions, which some of the Remonstrant preachers of their province had set forth a little time before. This document put the extreme Supralapsarian theology in the most odious light, and this Contra-Remonstrant

[1] Wagenaar, X, 282. The further addition of Aerssen and de Hartaing was necessary in January 1619, and only carried through by Maurice with the greatest difficulty. See Wagenaar, X, 332–9.

[2] Limborch, *Vita Episc.*, p. 119; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, II, 504; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 9–13.

Synod rejected each Article as representing their views, including one that said that faith was a fruit of election. Some of the Holland Remonstrants immediately republished the articles, giving chapter and verse in each case from the utterances of famous Calvinist divines. The other Synods saw the dangers of the Gelderland policy, and pressed the Remonstrants to produce their own heresies, rather doing this than defending a creed which was not likely to be seriously impugned at Dort.[1]

The Zeeland, Friesland and Groningen Synods had little Arminian resistance to meet, but in Holland the Remonstrants preferred still to fight their battles through the secular courts. They sent a further plea to the States of Holland for a fair National Synod, laying down the conditions under which they were willing to recognize it. This document was sent on to the North and South Holland Synods, which met at Enkhuizen and Delft on October 10th and 8th respectively. There it was completely ignored. Certain representative Arminian preachers also sent a letter to the Delft Synod in which they expressed their wish to be absent. They declared that they were heart and soul for the Reformed Church, but other members of it refused to recognize them and regarded them as enemies of the Christian religion. They then declared what the substance of their belief was, beginning with the statement that God determined to fashion the human race in His image for happiness. They went on to say that God foresaw the fall of man, and in His love for the world provided a sacrifice for man's sin; from all eternity it was decreed that those who believed in Christ should be God's chosen ones, while unbelievers should be lost. Without the grace of God the very beginnings of faith were impossible, a prevenient grace before saving faith was manifested, and a persevering grace that preserved the faith of believers to the end. Baptized children received God's grace also, but they might fall from it when they came to years of maturity by their own guilt. The assurance of

[1] See Brandt, II, 540–42; cf. 415–17 for Ten Articles; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 9.

believers should never lead to self-confidence in fleshly security, but the true Christian should live day by day as a dying man. They believed in free will, but acknowledged that all goodness was from God Himself, and proceeded no further in the great question of predestination. If such preaching were approved, all was well; if not, they would be glad to receive the arguments of the Synod against their positions.[1]

The Synods of Holland set to work at once to suspend certain prominent Remonstrant preachers, and to remove others. In South Holland the chief victims were Grevinchoven and Wtenbogaert. A letter of summons was sent to the latter on October 27th, and he was condemned on November 4th, although it was nearly impossible for him to have received the notification at Antwerp and to have been at Delft for a hearing in the interval. He considered that the appointment of John Taurinus, after he had sent in his resignation to the Church Consistory, implied that he was no longer under the jurisdiction of South Holland. In any case, he was forbidden to exercise his ministry and to approach the Lord's Table. In South Holland the Synod was followed up by a travelling commission that went from town to town removing some suspected preachers altogether, and suspending others. Even John Taurinus, though he had renounced his Arminian errors and gone over to the Contra-Remonstrants, was removed from the Hague and Rosaeus was restored to his ministry there on November 9th by the States of Holland. Wtenbogaert was condemned unheard because he had helped heretical preachers, slandered the Church and its doctrine, and had treacherously left his charge.[2]

In towns where the Remonstrants were strong, arrangements were still made for the preaching of both parties;[3] but this arrangement was not to last long. In December

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 306.

[2] For Provincial Synods see Baudart, X, 38–47; Brandt, II, 540–67; Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 301–2; Trigland, pp. 1100–2; Regenboog, I, 349–58; Wagenaar, X, 310 f.

[3] Baudart, X, 67; Brandt, II, 535–6.

none of the four preachers at the Hague was a Remonstrant, so they called in a theological student to preach to a congregation that met in the house of a gardener. The following week an instruction was published in the name of Prince Maurice and the Council of Holland, by which all such conventicles were forbidden under penalty of heavy fines.[1] Gouda, Rotterdam and Hoorn were centres in which it continued to be very difficult to entirely suppress these "pernicious sects," as the Holland placard described them. At Leiden the three Arminian curators of the University were replaced by Calvinists, a warning of the wholesale change of the teaching staff which was to follow in 1619, when that centre of light and liberty came under the control of men like Festus Hommius.[2]

The chief leaders of the Arminian party began to move off the scene of action in tragic fashion. Carleton's account is forceful as ever without excess of sentiment. "Leydenbergh, the secretary of Utrecht (who was brought hither to be confronted with Barnevelt), having murdered himself in his bed this last night with two knives, whereof he made provision three days before; with the one of which he ript up his own belly, and with the other cut his throat; and both with that silence that his son (who was permitted to lie in the same chamber with him but had a bed apart) was not awakened therewith, until he heard the blood which gushed out of his father's throat; which made him call the guards, but before they came Leydenberg was dead. Here is much noise upon this occasion, some imputing it to an impatiency of restraint; others to an apprehension of torture and punishment; but he was reputed a man rather base and timorous than of any stoutness and courage. . . . The States, who assembled this morning extraordinarily upon this occasion, made this judgment hereof, that there is some greater secret than they have yet discovered. . . . Taurinus, a factious and seditious minister of Utrecht (who, since his flight from thence,

[1] Baudart, X, 89–90; Brandt, II, 570.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 310–15; Regenboog, I, 370–2.

hath been confessed to be the author of *The Balance*) is suddenly dead in an open village on the archduke's side ; and it is suspected that he was poisoned ; whereby to conceal such as contributed their conceits to that libel." [1] There seems to have been no truth in Carleton's suspicion. James Taurinus was taken ill soon after he had found refuge with Wtenbogaert at a farm near Antwerp, and died in his friend's arms on the night of September 22nd. Wtenbogaert wrote a heart-broken letter to John Taurinus at the Hague, telling him of his brother's death. There is one bitter expression in the letter : " All that you need now is to send him to England." Taurinus had been broken by the remorseless pursuit of James I as Vorstius had been before him. On his death-bed he had confessed that he wrote *The Balance* and published it without consulting any other person.[2] Taurinus was forty-one ; Ledenberg was a little older, but the son who was present at the tragic ending of his father's career was a youth of seventeen. Ledenberg's death took place a week after that of the Utrecht preacher, and his enemies refused his family permission to bury the corpse until a sentence of confiscation of his worldly possessions had been pronounced over it eight months later.[3]

The Arminian cause was indeed failing. The very children in the streets made a jest of it. It was a few days before these happenings that Carleton reported in his English letter that " In Utrecht the boys having pulled a live hen, and coursing it about the streets, were found to follow it in sport with a cry of commiseration, *O armen han* (Oh ! poor hen !), and indeed the Arminian, to which name this alludes, being lately very proud of his plumes, is now stript so bare, that he is a subject to some of commiseration, but to most of scorn." [4] It was a poor jest, but the practice of vivi-

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 297 f.

[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 12 ; *Brieven Wten.*, No. 194 ; Brandt, II, 565, 566.

[3] Baudart, X, 65 ; Trigland, p. 1092 ; Regenboog, *Historie der Rem.*, I, 345.

[4] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 295.

section was presently to be applied in real earnest on the three distinguished prisoners. Their arrest had been illegal, and it had been immediately followed by the issue of a public notice to which no name was attached, in which their arrest was explained by the fact that they were the ringleaders in "sundry things" which might have made various cities of the United Provinces fall into a blood bath. They were then kept in separate rooms, and their judges afterwards praised their own magnanimity in not submitting such characters to the rack, nor even putting them in chains. They did, however, refuse permission to their friends and relatives to see them, and for some time denied them the use of pen, ink and paper. Weeks passed without a trial, and the public began to be restive. In October Barnevelt's wife got a message through to her husband in a quill hidden in a pear. It was to the effect that he could not rely on the States of Holland, as Maurice was changing the government of the towns, adding significantly, "Dudley Carleton is not your friend," or, as it was reported to Carleton, *Den English stoken de vyer* ("The English kindle the fire").[1] The examination of the prisoners was conducted in private, and every means was taken to prevent any information leaking out. They were allowed no lawyers, no clerks, not even the use of notes, and were always examined separately by men who did not hesitate to use threats and interruptions and every device that might confuse them or betray them into hasty and dangerous speech.[2] The investigation was carried on intermittently for some months by three public prosecutors in the presence of about half a dozen representatives of the States-General. It was not until the middle of February 1619 that a bench of twenty-four judges were appointed, twelve from Holland and two from each of the other provinces.[3] The delay was due to the fact that it was not until the end of January that Maurice had secured complete control of the nobles

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 304; Wagenaar, X, 257.
[2] Grotius, *Verhooren*, pp. 55–56.
[3] Wagenaar, X, 340–2.

and estates of Holland. The obstinate plea of all the prisoners that they were answerable only to the States of Holland was supposed to be met by the appointment of half their judges from that province. The only voices raised in a plea for a fair trial were those of the French Ambassadors du Maurier and de Boississe, who both spoke to the States-General on December 12th against the dangers of party spirit. They declared that it was difficult to believe that one who had served his country so long and so well as Barnevelt had done could attempt to destroy his fatherland. The reply of the States-General a week later made it clear that other views were entertained in that quarter of "a small number of persons who abused the authority of their offices," but that they professed to act "with that equity and gentleness which is consistent with the authority of sovereigns and the obedience of their subjects."[1]

The conduct of Barnevelt's examination has been described in vivid and moving detail by Motley, with all the enthusiasm of a partisan, but with adequate proof of the main points in his indictment of Maurice.[2] For it is Maurice himself who is on trial. He may seriously have suspected Barnevelt of intercourse with Spain, but no proof was forthcoming in the trial, and it was not mentioned in the final judgment. Raising the militia was in Maurice's judgment tantamount to civil war, and the Advocate was plotting to replace Maurice by his brother in the Stadholdership.[3]

Grotius was the only one of the prisoners who showed any sign of flinching. He wrote a long letter to Maurice on September 13th in which he said he had never had any profit from his association with Barnevelt; his reward had been that he had been given the most difficult commissions to carry out. He was no more than a poor servant of Holland and the town of Rotterdam.[4] Yet Grotius said that Barnevelt had always spoken of Maurice

[1] Brandt, II, 582–86; Wagenaar, X, 301 ff.
[2] Motley, *John of Barneveld*, ch. xx.
[3] Grotius, *Verhooren*, p. 44.
[4] Ibid., p. 92; cf. Appendix I, p. 272; cf. Wagenaar, X, 286.

with respect and, so far as he knew, had had no correspondence with Spain. It is painful to contrast the cold words of Grotius with Barnevelt's question on the last night of his life, "Is my Grotius also to die? and Hogerbeets?"[1] Grotius, however, was seriously ill at the beginning of his imprisonment, and in later years he did full justice to the great statesman in whose school of government he had been brought up. The first examination of all was that of Hogerbeets on September 27th, that of Grotius followed four days later. Barnevelt did not appear before the prosecutors until November 15th, while his trial before the bench of judges did not begin until March 7th, 1619. In these six months of waiting he was never told what the charges were that were brought against him, but in his examination he reviewed the history of his country for forty years, expounded the correctness of his constitutional action throughout, especially in the matter of the militia, an old privilege of the towns of Holland.[2] His opposition to the National Synod was regarded as a crime, but he made his belief in mutual toleration as the only possible way of peace in provinces where there were so many different representatives of Christianity clearer than ever, and declared that he thought Calvin and Beza would have supported the famous letter of James I of 1613 which Barnevelt was supposed to have extracted unfairly. He must have surprised his judges not only by his knowledge of theology, but by the earnestness of his own statement of belief. The examination of Grotius followed much the same course as that of the Advocate, with a little more emphasis on his attempts to influence English opinion in favour of Arminianism. Again and again, however, the questions wandered back to Utrecht, and it is clear that the show of resistance to Maurice at that place was the head and front of all their offences. In the 131 charges drawn up by the prosecutors against Grotius at the close of the trial,

[1] Wagenaar, X, 362; Grotius, *Verhooren*, Examination, December 4th, January 24th, and March 6th.

[2] Cf. Grotius, *Verhooren*, p. 27.

the last 66 are all concerned with his proceedings at Utrecht.[1]

During the whole course of these proceedings few people seem to have anticipated the harshness of the sentences. "For the whole time of their process," said Carleton on April 26th, "till now of late there was no speech of death."[2] Barnevelt was astonished beyond words at the sentence.[3] Grotius expected to be dismissed from office and to be exiled from the country.[4] It was the announcement of the States-General of a public fast and day of humiliation for April 17th that excited the belief that sterner measures were to follow. Church and State had been saved by the National Synod, said the proclamation; a lawful sentence would soon be published against those who had disturbed the peace of the United Provinces by their ambitious designs.[5] By a strange coincidence each of the prisoners observed the day of prayer by singing the seventh Psalm.[6] Even Count William Lewis seems to have shrunk from the idea of Barnevelt's execution, and it appears that if the Advocate's family had been willing to plead for pardon some milder judgment might have followed.[7] With all the heroism of a Roman matron his wife refused to do anything which would imply the guilt of her husband. Maurice resented the fact that they followed the custom of the country and erected a maypole before their house on May 1st instead of coming in suppliant fashion to submit to his will.[8] The sentences were deferred until after the canons of the Synod of Dort were published. The witty observation of a Geneva representative to the Synod was that these canons shot off the Advocate's head.[9] The announcement of his

[1] Grotius, *Verhooren*, pp. 306–36; cf. Carleton, *Letters*, p. 367.
[2] Ibid., p. 357.
[3] Wagenaar, X, 359.
[4] Grotius, *Verhooren*, p. 72.
[5] Wagenaar, X, 356; Brandt, III, 252; cf. *Brieven Wten.*, Nos. 220, 218.
[6] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 358.
[7] Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, No. 460.
[8] Ibid., II, No. 361; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 54.
[9] Brandt, III, 371.

condemnation to death was made to Barnevelt on the evening of Sunday, May 12th, 1619, and the execution took place early the next morning in the Binnenhof at the Hague before a great crowd of spectators. Possibly some of the foreign delegates on their way home from Dort witnessed this climax to their work. Many writers have described the last night of the Advocate's life, his conversations with the Calvinist preachers, his calm and dignified behaviour on the scaffold. "Do not believe that I am a traitor to the country. I have ever acted uprightly and loyally as a good patriot, and as such I shall die," were his last words to the people of Holland, and the verdict of history will be that he spoke the truth.[1]

Grotius heard in his prison the announcement of the sentences against Barnevelt and the corpse of Ledenberg and suspected that the scaffold remained on the Binnenhof for the accommodation of himself and Hogerbeets.[2] Indeed the latter was informed that the scaffold was still waiting for him unless he was willing to ask forgiveness. The same suggestion was made to the wife of Grotius, but she bravely replied, "I will not do it. If he has deserved it let them strike off his head."[3] They were summoned to hear their sentence on May 18th, and found it to be imprisonment for life with confiscation of all their possessions. On the night of June 5th they were conveyed to the Castle of Loevestein, a grim and impregnable fortress on the banks of the Waal. The Contra-Remonstrants, with the help of the Prince of Orange, had won the battle and the aristocracy of Holland had received an overwhelming defeat.

[1] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 362–5; Wagenaar, X, 359–69; Brandt, III, 370–1; Baudart, XI, 56–61; Le Clerc, II, 55–7; Motley.

[2] Grotius, *Verhooren*, pp. 70–1.

[3] Wagenaar, X, 369–70.

CHAPTER IX

THE REMONSTRANTS AT THE SYNOD OF DORT

The town of Dordrecht, or Dort, is the oldest trading port of the United Provinces. It has now been left far behind by many of its younger rivals, and lies quietly among its waterways, a favourite place of resort for tourists. Alluring railway posters have been known to describe it as "the Venice of the North," forgetful of the claim of Amsterdam to that title. The appropriateness of that name recalls the episcopal reply to the lady who thought Torquay was like Switzerland: "So it would be, madam, if there were any mountains, and if there were no sea." There is little in Dort to recall the palaces that line the Grand Canal, the architecture of San Salute or the romance that gathers round the Square of St. Mark's, the Campanile and the Ducal Palace. When the Synod was held there its commercial leadership had already been taken by Amsterdam and Rotterdam, though it was a convenient gateway to the heart of the country. To-day it has a charm of quaintness all its own, and the Great Church continues to be an important factor in the life of the town. It is a picturesque sight on Sunday, after morning worship, to see the well-dressed, sober citizens waiting for the great ferry-boat that carries them across to the northern suburb. It is the view of Dort from that side that forms the subject of one of Vermeer's most charming pictures, a study of still life not after the usual manner. An atmosphere of contented quiet and of prosperous repose pervades the scene; its title might have been "a haunt of ancient peace."

Dort suggests little of peace to the student of Church History. It has become the symbol of religious controversy in the post-Reformation period. Not merely

did it consummate a schism in the Reformed Church; its date marks the beginning of the terrible Thirty Years' War. There is here no relation of cause and effect, though the forces of the Counter-Reformation were greatly encouraged by the divisions of the Hollanders among themselves, and the supineness of Great Britain, ruled by a monarch who preferred directing the Dutch in their theology to supporting his son-in-law on the unstable throne of Bohemia. It was during the early sessions of the Synod that the war broke out which was to depopulate Germany and threaten the very existence of Protestantism.

It was impossible for the Synod to open on November 1st according to arrangement; the foreign divines had not then arrived. The King of France refused to allow representatives to come from the Huguenot Churches, and the summons to the great Calvinist centres of Geneva and the Palatinate had been late in going out. In October the subdued States of Holland gave their belated approval to the meeting of the Synod, and the States-General sent out a demand to the provinces for 100,000 guilders for the expenses of the gathering. At the beginning of November the English theologians arrived: George Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, Joseph Hall, Dean of Worcester, John Davenant, Professor of Theology at Cambridge, and Samuel Ward, Archdeacon of Taunton. They were introduced to the States-General on November 5th by Sir Dudley Carleton, who took the opportunity to extol the prescience of James I, and to express disapproval of a recent Dutch publication against the Constitution of the English Church. He was followed by his namesake the Bishop in a speech which expressed admiration for the achievements of the United Provinces, the friendly sentiments of the Church of England and their desire to be of service in the interests of peace.[1]

It was on Tuesday, November 13th, that the National Synod was opened by a sermon in Dutch in the morning,

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 3–6. For Proceedings in Synod see Brandt and *Acta Synodi Nationalis hab. Dordrecht* in loc.

and in French in the afternoon. The preachers were Lydius of Dort and the Walloon minister of Middelburg. After the second sermon the delegates proceeded to the Conference Hall, which was an old drill-hall. There they were welcomed by Lydius on behalf of the local Church, and by Martin Gregory of Gelderland, the President of the eighteen lay deputies who had been appointed by the States-General. The business of these deputies was to keep the Synod to matters of primary importance, to see that the authority of the Government was acknowledged throughout by the use of the formula "The National Synod held under the Authority of their High-Mightinesses the States-General," and to keep their High-Mightinesses informed of the proceedings. They were also to see that there should be no waste of time which would involve unnecessary expense. Daniel Heinsius, the Leiden Professor of History, was also sent by the States-General to act as secretary and to keep an accurate record. The time of the sessions on Tuesday and Wednesday was spent in allotting places to the delegates, examining their credentials and electing a President with two assistants and two registrars or secretaries. If the Remonstrants felt that the States-General had chosen lay representatives who were bitterly hostile to them they were still more disappointed with the officials elected by the Synod itself. The chosen President was John Bogerman of Leeuwarden, a Calvinist preacher of extreme views who had written in favour of the punishment of heresy with death; moreover, one of the secretaries was Festus Hommius, one of the cleverest manipulators of the anti-Arminian machine. Down the right side of the hall sat the Dutch representatives with the foreigners facing them on the opposite side. The lay delegates had the place of honour nearest the chimney, and then followed in order the representatives of the seven provinces and the Walloon Churches. The English were at the head of the room on the other side, then was a vacant place for the Frenchmen, then came the Palatine divines with the others in order down to Emden,

last of all. When the Synod was complete the number of members consisted of 18 lay deputies of the States-General, 37 ministers, 19 elders and 5 professors of the United Provinces, with 26 theologians from abroad, making a total of 105 in all. Among the late arrivals were Sibrandus Lubbertus from Franeker University and Walter Balcanqual, who was sent to represent the Scottish Church in response to a special request. Richard Baxter expressed the conviction of many in his century when he said, "So far as I am able to judge, the Christian world since the days of the Apostles never had a Synod of more excellent Divines than the Westminster Assembly and the Synod of Dort." Yet there are not many names of outstanding eminence on the list. Bogerman himself lives to-day in the history of Dutch literature as a translator of the Bible. Trigland of Amsterdam was great in controversy, and has left a valuable and ponderous history of these years. Polyander, Gomarus and Walaeus are familiar faces among the professors: Hillenius of Groningen recalls the old quarrels with Venator at Alkmaar. All the seventy-nine representatives of the United Provinces may be regarded as Contra-Remonstrants with the exception of two ministers and one elder from Utrecht, Isaac Frederici, Samuel Naeranus and Dr. Stephen Helsdingen. Of the foreigners Scultetus of Heidelberg is a theologian of some note, the Marburg representatives are not without distinction, and the name of Giovanni Diodati of Geneva is familiar to us as an uncle of Milton's friend. He had issued the first Italian version of the Scriptures in 1607.

The Synod was satisfied with the statement that the credentials of the foreign divines had already been presented to the States-General. It is surprising that there was no protest against this Erastian action, but Maurice and the States-General were so favourable to the High Calvinists that they could possibly be regarded as ecclesiastical personages for the time being. The Geneva representatives, however, produced a letter from the ministers of their Church and the professors of their

University in which regret was expressed that the ancient heresies of the Arians and Pelagians that had been so long asleep were now awake once more. It is clear that Geneva had made up its mind in advance. There was some discussion about the credentials of Overyssel and Utrecht. The commission of the former seemed to put the *Catechism* and *Confession* on the same level as the Scriptures as the authority of belief, but it was explained that they merely wished to affirm that the formularies were scriptural. The Utrecht Remonstrants had come to the Synod definitely to stand for the five points, and had to give a promise that they would not correspond with their fellow ministers and Churches without the permission of the Synod.

Owing to the differences of language represented by the members, Latin was used in all the sessions of the Synod itself.[1] This caused some inconvenience to several of the lay delegates of the States-General, one of whom confessed that by practice and attention he began to understand a little of what was taking place, and kept a dictionary in his hand, looking up a word from time to time. The lawyers were as good Latinists as the clergy, and in case of need the lay commissioners had their learned secretary Heinsius to fall back upon. They thought it would be a fitting thing to begin proceedings by having the rules for the constitution of the Synod and for procedure in it read over. We are familiar with the constitution, and the most important point in the procedure was the arrangement by which the Five Articles should be treated first. There was some discussion as to the method by which this regulation should be carried out, and the conclusion was that some of the Remonstrants must appear before the Synod. Differences of opinion arose about the number and individuals, and in the end the chief officials fixed on thirteen of the leading Remonstrants, and letters of citation were sent out to them, summoning them within

[1] Cf. Instructions of James I to English representatives: "Our will and pleasure is that . . . you inure yourselves to the practice of the Latin tongue" (Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (ed. 1857), III, 275).

fourteen days.[1] Meanwhile the Remonstrants themselves had met at Leiden and had chosen Episcopius, Corvinus, Pynakker of Alkmaar and Assuerus Matthisius of Kampen to represent them. Episcopius was a member of the Synod as a Professor of Theology, and had duly received his official invitation. He was, however, persuaded to act with his colleagues, and did not therefore appear at Dort until November 16th along with the other three Remonstrant delegates. They now discovered that the Synod had chosen other names than they would have fixed upon, and that Episcopius was cited to appear not as a member of the Synod but as a Remonstrant on his defence. They protested to the lay commissioners, specially asking that those who took part in the Hague Conference might be allowed to appear and desiring also the help of Grevinchoven and Goulart, who had recently been expelled from the ministry by their respective Provincial Synods. They also asked for safe conducts to and from Dort. Their complaints were not discussed in the Synod, but they were told that only ministers who had not been expelled could be heard; people like Grevinchoven and Wtenbogaert might be present as private hearers, but in no other capacity. They could also be assured of personal safety, unless they were guilty of political offences. Finding that their protests were vain they left the town, promising to return within the specified time.

The fortnight that elapsed before the Remonstrants appeared in the Synod was spent in considering several practical questions. A new translation of the Bible into Dutch was needed since St. Aldegonde and his helpers who had been appointed some years before were all dead and the work was hardly begun. The English delegates informed the Synod of the methods that had

[1] In addition to those mentioned there were: (1) from S. Holland, Bernard Dwinglo (Leiden), Ed. Poppius (Gouda), Theophilus Rijckewaert (Brielle); (2) from N. Holland, Dominic Sapma (Hoorn); (3) from Gelderland, Henry Leo (Bommel), Bernher Vezekius (Eckel), and Henry Hollinger (Grave); (4) from Overyssel, Thomas Goswin (Kampen); and (5) from the Walloon Churches, Charles Nielle (Utrecht).

been used in preparing the *Authorized Version* a few years before. The Dutch arrangements were less elaborate; three translators were chosen both for the Old and New Testaments, with revisers for each Testament chosen from each province. The Old Testament translators included Bogerman himself and William Baudart of Zutphen, whose *Memoryen* are full of useful material for the history of these years both in its political and ecclesiastical aspects.

On November 23rd there arrived in Dort John Hales, afterwards Professor of Greek at Oxford and Fellow of Eton College, but at that time chaplain to the English Ambassador at the Hague. He had come to keep Sir Dudley Carleton informed of what was taking place in the Synod and, as he had some difficulty in getting enough information from Festus Hommius and the President, he wrote to his chief a series of letters in which his own impressions as a hearer are given. There is a frankness and humour about the writing of Hales which lifts this correspondence above the level of the controversialists, and adds vitality to the official *Acts* of the Synod. He arrived in time to be present at the session when the translators and revisers of the Bible were being chosen, and found it a tedious business. This was followed by a discussion on the subject of the Sunday afternoon instructions in the *Catechism*, which for several reasons had been somewhat neglected of late. It was argued that some measure of compulsion should be used by the magistrates to compel attendance. The English Church had found that fines for absence from Church counted far more with the people "than any pious admonitions could." The different customs of the different Churches were set down in writing. That of some of the Swiss Churches made a special appeal to Hales. "But doubtless the most effectual way of all the rest to bring young persons to learn their *Catechism*, was that which was related by one of the Helvetian Deputies. For he told us that in his country the manner was, that all young persons that meant to marry were to repair, both he and she, unto their minister, a

little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examined how well they conned their Catechism: If they had not done it perfectly to his mind, he had power to defer their marriage till they had better learnt their Lessons. I was much affected to this course when I heard it; and I thought that doubtless it was a speedy way to make all young persons, excepting myself and two or three more that mean not overhastily to marry, to be skilful in their Catechism. The Synod shall be ill advised if they make no use of it."[1] In the end it was decided that three catechisms should be prepared. The first, for home use, was to be a simple one containing the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The second, for use in schools, was to be an abbreviation of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, while that Catechism was to be used as it stood for instruction in church. The idea of the Utrecht Remonstrants that a simpler catechism should be preferred in which the words of Scripture only should be used was put aside as inexpedient without discussion. The importance of the subject was felt because of the energetic efforts of the Jesuits to win converts, and to see that they were well instructed in their principles. Thus it happened that the Synod was already committed to the *Heidelberg Catechism* before the doctrinal question had been discussed at all.

Another subject over which some time was spent was the baptism of the children of heathen parents. The question had been raised at Amsterdam by traders from the East Indies. There was here a sharp division of opinion. The English and some others held that whenever heathen children were adopted into a Christian family they should be baptized and brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." They argued on the basis of the action of Abraham in circumcising all the members of his household and of Paul in baptism. The Geneva argument was that such children were outside the covenant, and should not be baptized until they had reached years of discretion

[1] Hales, *Golden Remains*, Dort Letters, p. 11.

and could make a choice for themselves; and Geneva prevailed.

Proceedings were varied on November 29th by a Latin sermon by the Dean of Worcester on Eccles. vii, 16. It was a dangerous honour, but the Dean did not shrink from it, and ventured to say that "it was neither necessary nor useful for every vulgar understanding to pretend to climb up with unhallowed feet into the highest and most concealed apartments of heaven, and there pry into God's mysteries with a bold and inquisitive eye, and pass a judgment on the deepest secrets of the divine Council; neither ought every Porter or Waterman boldly to take upon him to dispute about the most hidden cause of Predestination."[1] At the same time he emphasized the fact that King James I exhorted them to continue loyal to their Confessions of faith. He ended with an earnest plea for unity and peace, believing the best way to approach the subject of Predestination would be to get each party to give to the Synod a short and plain exposition of Romans ix.

The remainder of the time until the arrival of the Remonstrants was spent in considering whether theological students should be allowed to preach and baptize and in suggesting various methods of strengthening the censorship of the press in order to prevent the appearance of heretical and atheistic literature. It is evident that we are a generation before the appearance of Milton. The day has not yet come when men can plead for unlicensed printing: "Let truth and falsehood grapple. Whoever saw Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"[2] All held that divinity students might not be allowed to baptize, but some thought that they might preach occasionally, though others took strong exception to this. In the end the question of preaching was left to the decision of individual Churches and Classes. The report of Hales on this subject is characteristic: "D. Gomarus held it utterly unlawful for any to preach before they were admitted to the Ministry.

[1] Cf. King James's Instructions in Fuller, loc cit.

[2] *Areopagitica.*

First, because they had no Mission; and who can preach except he be sent? Secondly, because they had not the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven. Thirdly, it was granted that they could not baptize: now Christ hath put Baptism and Preaching together, 'Go teach all Nations baptizing them: *et quæ Deus conjunxit homo ne separet.* Last of all, though there had been a custom in some places to the contrary, yet fitter it was that custom should conform itself to Truth, than Truth to custom. With Gomarus agreed Thysius, and thought his argument drawn from Mission to be unanswerable, and for my own part I thought so too. D. Gomarus is a man of great note; but I never heard him speak with any strength of reason in the Synod till now. What Sibrandus his opinion was concerning the point I know not; for he doth so favour his voice, that I can never tell what he saith: and I imagine I have no great loss of it."[1] So we meet once more some of our earlier characters in the play. Gomarus, the old colleague of Arminius, after his wanderings in France, is now settled at Groningen University, and as zealous a Calvinist as ever. Sibrandus Lubbertus, of Franeker, was the controversialist who misled the foreign Churches about the Arminians, and had the honour of receiving some severe treatment from Grotius himself.

The fortnight that had been allowed to the Remonstrant leaders was now expiring, and they were cited by name in the Synod on December 5th, and their Utrecht friends had to explain that they would shortly make their appearance. As a matter of fact, they arrived at Dort the same night, and announced their arrival to Bogerman and the lay President early the next morning. They had held a preliminary meeting of their own at Rotterdam, and the full fortnight had not yet gone since several of them received their summons. Now they asked for a little grace until their papers should arrive, and they should be able to find suitable lodgings. However, on November 6th they were summoned to appear at the 22nd session of the Synod and took their

[1] Hales, pp. 23–4.

places at a long table in the middle of the hall which had been vacant till now. The President greeted them, and mentioned the fact that they were late in arrival, for which Episcopius gave a satisfactory explanation. They were, however, he said, ready to enter upon a conference immediately in spite of some drawbacks. They were then asked to withdraw while the Synod considered what time should be allowed them for preparation. Polyander took exception to their use of the term "conference," and desired the Synod to let the Remonstrants know that they were there for judgment, not to engage in another fruitless parley. They were then called in once more and told to be ready for the session at nine o'clock the next day; the substance of Polyander's remarks was also conveyed to them. Episcopius replied that it was not necessary to dispute over terms; they had come to deal with the doctrines in dispute. He also renewed the request that Grevinchoven and Goulart might be added to their number as useful expositors of their principles whose names had been on the original list of Remonstrants cited to appear. When they retired this was discussed, but no decision was reached till the next day, when the request was refused; but Goulart and Grevinchoven might submit their views in writing if the Synod allowed. Also they might come to Dort as private persons if they wished to help their colleagues by advice.

The Remonstrants had but little expectation of fair play from the Dutch and Walloon members of the Synod, but they were not without hope that the foreigners might be ready to give them an unbiased hearing. They, therefore, called on as many of them as they could find that day and, since they knew very little of the detailed history of the events that had led up to the Synod, they gave their own account of them in a Latin document in which they also made it clear that they were loyal to all the fundamental tenets of the Catholic Faith, but were called in question (1) about the credibility of the *Confession* and *Catechism* in the Church of God, and (2) about the authority of Christian Magis-

trates in Church affairs. They therefore asked for a fair hearing, and also for the help of the foreign divines in suspending the action of the Commission of the South Holland Synod, which was expelling Remonstrant ministers before the voice of the National Synod was heard. The Contra-Remonstrants bitterly resented this appeal, but the Remonstrants considered it a legitimate measure of self-defence against the misrepresentations from which they suffered. Meanwhile the Synod set to work to get rid of the Utrecht Remonstrants. It was agreed that, since they had come to Dort representing the opinions of the accused party, they ought to take their stand beside them. If they were members of the Synod, so was Episcopius. It seems to us that a National Synod should have represented accurately the different schools of thought in the National Church. That was, however, not the view of the orthodox party; they maintained that the Synod should represent the *Catechism* and the *Confession*. As the Remonstrants were already gravely under-represented, it was a matter of little consequence that the Remonstrant province of Utrecht should be represented by extreme Calvinists. Frederici and Neranus, the Utrecht ministers, were therefore set beside the other defendants, while the layman who accompanied them, although ready to submit to the terms the Synod imposed on him and to sit in judgment as a neutral, was allowed to return home.

This matter was still under discussion when Episcopius and his colleagues again appeared before the Synod on the morning of December 7th. The decision of the Synod on the subject of Goulart and Grevinchoven was read to them, and Episcopius, asking permission to speak, entered upon a long and eloquent oration upon the main subject. It is clear that he took the Synod by surprise, and was reproved on that account by Bogerman at the close. Hales, who was present, says that he spoke for an hour's space "with great grace of speech and oratorical gesture."[1] He began by exalting religion as the distinguishing mark between man and the brute

[1] Hales, p. 49.

creation. For them religion meant a true belief in God and in the mediator Jesus Christ, together with a true and lawful worship and obedience to both, founded on that belief. Men must distinguish between essentials and non-essentials, and remember that all men are liable to mistakes in heavenly affairs. All that the Remonstrants had tried to do was to purify the Reformed Churches from certain extravagances and errors which seemed to wound the divine honour and to give opportunity to the enemy to blaspheme. The result was that they had roused unexpected turmoil and hatred. Their reputations were attacked by scandalous libels and falsehoods. They did not pretend that their own behaviour in these trials had been perfect. "We are also men, and consequently subject to the frailties and infirmities of mankind, but yet we will venture to affirm this: that we neither proposed, nor hoped, nor desired, anything that deserved such general hatred."[1] He then proceeded to show that the only possibilities before the country were a fair Synod such as they had long ago requested, or mutual toleration or the expulsion of the Remonstrants from the Church. He showed that the attempt at toleration had merely poured oil upon the fire. They were suspected of many heresies that did not appear in the Five Articles. "They called councils and set up tribunals almost against the very syllables and minutest tittles of our words." As a proof of this he referred to the recent volume of Festus Hommius, *The Specimen of Low Country Differences*. The attempt to secure complete uniformity of religious opinion was as futile as that of Nero to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth. All the liberty the Remonstrants asked for was to preserve the golden mean between slavery and licence. What they had said hitherto might be summed up under three heads: (1) they opposed crude and harsh views of Predestination which were private opinions rather than Church doctrine, (2) they blamed those who made a schism in the Church over the Five Articles before there had been any synodical decision,

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 55.

and (3) they objected to the action of those who would excommunicate all who differed from themselves by a hair's breadth. In addition to this, they differed from their opponents in ascribing the highest authority to the supreme Christian magistrate in settling differences in religion. Episcopius ended by a plea that the foreigners should not judge the question by the smallness of the numbers of the Remonstrants. He hinted at some of the methods that had been used to produce this result in the Synod. Their appeal was not to numbers, but to Scripture and Reason. "He that does not come hither with such a mind as to be capable of acquitting his greatest enemy or of condemning his dearest friend, is really unworthy to give his advice and vote in this Assembly. *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, amica Synodus, sed magis amica veritas.*" This powerful speech made a profound impression on the Synod, but its effect was nullified to a certain extent by the dispute that followed. Bogerman demanded a copy of it and Episcopius said that he had no fair copy, but would have one prepared. He had used a manuscript which the whole Synod could see. This was regarded as a piece of Arminian equivocation, the more so as it was discovered later that he had another copy at his lodgings. All that Episcopius intended seems to have been that in many places his private notes would be unintelligible to others. The Calvinists, however, declared that the fair copy which he did produce omitted some of the sharper passages.

The President also reproved them when they first entered the Synod for trying to captivate and embitter the minds of the members by a prepared harangue stuffed with false accusations. Thereupon the members took the oath one by one in the presence of the Remonstrants, the Utrecht delegates being pointedly omitted. The oath was to the effect that in the doctrinal inquiry they "would not make use of any kind of human writings, but only of the Word of God, as a sure and infallible rule of Faith." They declared that their sole aim was the honour of God, the peace of the Church, and the preservation of purity of doctrine. It is to be

noted that all the foreign theologians took this oath with the exception of those from Switzerland, who gave a simple promise to follow the tenor of it.

The dispute about the Utrecht Remonstrants continued on the Saturday and the Monday. They seem to have been convinced during the week-end that their position as members of the Synod would be intolerable. One of the conditions which had been offered to them was that they should give no information to the other Remonstrants of what had taken place at the Synod. This was a singular request, as the Synod was at that time open to the public. The attempt was, however, made to keep the heretics as isolated as possible, and when they were outside the Synod hall during the sessions they were actually shut in a room under lock and key. It was decided that in the 25th session on Monday, December 10th, they should be asked to come at once to the question of the Five Articles; but Bogerman began by referring once more to the dishonesty of Episcopius in saying that he had no copy of his speech. This misunderstanding kept arising to add to the warmth of the proceedings for the next few days. Episcopius, in his turn, instead of coming to business, put up Dwinglo of Leiden to read a long protest against the authority of the Synod; "two hours at the least," says Hales feelingly. They showed the injustice of making one of the parties in the dispute the judge; they proved that the Contra-Remonstrants had been the first to create schism in the United Provinces, and they went on to describe the type of Synod that should have been set up. What they really wanted was a conference between equal parties with a view to compromise. This procedure can hardly be regarded as sound policy. It merely irritated the Synod and produced a most undignified series of wrangles with Bogerman, the lay commissioners and others as to whether they considered Prince Maurice a schismatic, whom they wanted to be their judges, and the exchange of such questions as "What would you do if you were in my place?" It would have been much better if they had made a simple protest

against the one-sided nature of the Synod, and then have gone on to state their own views with moderation. The effect of their action on a fair-minded hearer like Hales can be seen in his observations. "When they had well and thoroughly wearied their auditors, they did that which we much desired: they made an end."[1] Their attitude was discussed at the afternoon session, and they were called in and reprimanded. One of Bogerman's expressions was that they should not "challenge the judgment of so many great men with such juvenile wantonness." "If you esteem us youths," said Charles Nielle of Utrecht, "you should have left us at home and sent for our seniors. Neither are we so young but that some of us have been preachers twenty years, I myself twenty-three years, and most of us ten or twelve." This kind of recrimination served no useful purpose. The lay commissioners ordered the Remonstrants to submit to the judgment of the Synod. Episcopius replied that they were always ready to obey the States, but could not prevail with their consciences to receive their most bitter enemies as judges. It was a question of the peace of many thousands of distracted minds, and the Synod had just shown itself so prejudiced as to worm out two of its members by direct practices because they differed from the views of the majority. This added fuel to the fire, and the upshot of the proceedings was that the Remonstrants requested a copy of the resolutions of the lay commissioners on procedure. The next day Episcopius protested against the insults of the President in charging him with prevarication, and the Remonstrants with accusing Prince Maurice and the States of schism. The day was spent in securing the judgment in writing of the representatives on these questions which were read to the Remonstrants in the session of Wednesday morning. To these adverse judgments official censures of a severe nature were added both by Festus Hommius for the ecclesiastics and Heinsius for the lay deputies. In the afternoon they were urged to come to business without further

[1] Hales, p. 38.

prevarication, to cease to act as an anti-Synod, and to give their judgments of the First Article independently in writing without further contrary opinions. Waiving the question of the lawfulness of the Synod, they said they were ready to do this, but the instructions of the letters of citation were that the discussion of the Five Articles should be by word of mouth, while the observations on the *Confession* and *Catechism* were to be in writing. This involved a new dispute, but the Remonstrants had to submit, to the great disappointment of many hearers who had come to listen to a set conflict of arguments between the two parties.

At the morning session on December 13th Episcopius read ten theses on the First Article from a document which was signed by all his colleagues. They maintained that God's decree of Predestination was not unrelated to man's obedience or disobedience, and Adam was not robbed of sufficient grace that he should inevitably fall. God did not decree that the majority of mankind should be excluded from all hope of salvation by the Fall alone, without actual sin. The real decree of God was that Christ was an Atonement for the sins of the whole world, and not for the elect only, and those are finally chosen who believe in Christ and continue in that faith. No baptized children of believers who die before they come to years of understanding, and therefore have not actually committed sin, can be lost. The President objected to the negative form in which several of these theses were cast, and said that the Remonstrants were more ready to attack the doctrines of others than to expound their own. It was also regarded by many members of the Synod as an improper thing that individual opinions were not given, and many urged that the Remonstrants should be examined one by one. Copies of the document were prepared so that the Synod could examine it in detail. The next day the President asked the Remonstrants to hand in their views on the other four Articles and pressed them to keep to the "comfortable doctrine of Election" rather than labour to make the doctrine of Reprobation appear

odious. They asked for a little time to prepare this new paper and were given a day's grace. They also promised to consider carefully Bogerman's other observations. At this time they had the help of other leaders of their party, such as Barlaeus and Borrius from Leiden and Grevinchoven, who came over from Rotterdam for a few days. Some theological students also helped them in secretarial work. On the Saturday, while the Remonstrants were hard at work on their new document, the Synod was encouraged by what Hales calls "a pathetical exhortation" by Scultetus (Schulz) "to all sorts as much as in them lay to procure the Church's peace." The text of this pious and pathetical sermon was Psalm cxxii.

On Monday, December 17th, the Remonstrants presented their paper on the remaining Articles. This was read by Dwinglo. Their four theses on the Second Article asserted the universality of the Atonement, but the advantages of the New Covenant were only granted to believers. It was untrue to say that Christ had not died for the reprobate. On the Third and Fourth Articles they presented twelve theses. They denied that Free Will could save any man, for the grace of God is not only the beginning but the end of all good. Yet man's zeal to work out his own salvation and his desire to hear God's Word and to repent of his sins are useful and, indeed, necessary steps in the attainment of Faith and Regeneration. Efficacious grace is not irresistible: men may do more good and abstain from more evil than they do. God's call to men is a serious one; the reprobates are not called that they may be the more hardened. It is not true that any tyranny or blasphemy is inevitable. On the Fifth Article they said that it was not only possible for believers to fall from grace but they frequently did so. They specially pointed out the danger of much popular teaching on this subject, which seemed to set morality at defiance. It was said that thousands of sins could not defeat the Election of God, nor would true believers, if they fell into the worst heresies and committed adultery and

murder, fall entirely and finally from the Faith. This seems to have been a Calvinist echo of Luther's famous declaration: "Sin will not pluck us away from Him, even though a thousand times a day we commit fornication or murder."[1] The Remonstrants believed that God gave His people sufficient grace to keep them faithful to the end, but they had no mercy on the dangerous antinomianism of unconditional Perseverance. It is also noteworthy that they did not go as far as the Council of Trent in asserting that Free Will was not extinguished by the Fall, but declared that the Will had no power in the state of sin of doing any good towards salvation. The qualifications of this statement, however, when examined side by side with the findings of Trent on the subject, leave little real difference between the Arminian and the Roman Catholic doctrine of Free Will.

This exposition of the Articles was followed by a reasoned statement of the necessity of putting some of their propositions into a negative form, and of dealing with the subject of Reprobation if their views were to have an adequate and fair expression. Their letters of citation called them to explain and defend their views as far as they were able and judged it necessary. The chief difficulties were all centred round the doctrine of Reprobation, which had been an important theme with all the leading Calvinist theologians. At the Hague Conference, the Contra-Remonstrants secured by a petition to the States of Holland that there should be no debate on Reprobation. The most important thing the Synod could do was to decide what the opinion of the Reformed Church was on the grave declarations that the mass of men were created for destruction, that the Fall and indeed all sin was inevitable, that all infants were reprobate and that the Perseverance of the Saints had no relation to sin. They agreed with the President that the doctrine of Election was comfortable, but it might also be very perilous, and the difficulties it raised should be frankly faced.

[1] E. L. Enders, *Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel*, III, 208–9.

After the lapse of years it must be admitted that the Remonstrants had presented their views on the Five Articles with ability and moderation. It seems also just that they should have been allowed to show in what particulars they differed from popular Calvinism. This could hardly be done without challenging extreme utterances of their opponents. It was no doubt irritating for the judges to find themselves occasionally in the dock, but it is not unfair to say that the Remonstrants were establishing a positive doctrine in the whole putting of their case. They were certainly not lacking in obstinacy, for they immediately challenged a denial of Festus Hommius that the Hague Conference had been correctly delineated by them and also expressed surprise when the President asked for their objections to the *Confession* and *Catechism* before the Five Articles were discussed. This provoked a storm of indignation. It was for the Synod, not the defendants, to dictate form of procedure. Each individual was pressed to declare what objections he had to offer. Some had some, others had a few of no great moment, others had not written them down and others had none at all. These objections were supposed to have been ready ten years ago, said Bogerman. They declared that there had been change of opinion since then, and in any case time was needed to translate their papers into Latin. In the end they were granted four days to prepare their remarks.

In this interval the Synod received a deputation from Kampen protesting against the behaviour of the Remonstrant ministers of that town. They also welcomed Walter Balcanqual, who had been sent by James I to represent the Scottish Churches. He sat alone on a little seat below the Anglicans, whose numbers were reduced about this time by the departure of the Dean of Worcester owing to illness.[1] In these days, also, certain

[1] " Thus returned Dr. Hall into his own country ; since, so recovered (not to say revived) therein that he hath gone over the graves of all his English colleagues there, and (what cannot God and good air do ?) surviving in health at this day, three-and-thirty years after . . ." (Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, III, 278).

delegates were requested to draw up a narrative of the events which led up to the Synod in order that the foreign divines might have a more accurate statement of the situation than they had received from the Remonstrants. The observations on the *Confession* were handed in on Friday, December 21st. Some were old and some new remarks, and all the Remonstrants had given their signatures. They were not allowed to read the document, and were reproved because they had not handed in separate papers for each individual, and because nothing was forthcoming on the *Catechism*. The lay commissioners ordered them to produce their separate observations on the *Catechism* on the following Thursday. The nearness of Christmas accounted for the extra time which they were allowed. If it was hoped that the festival of peace and good-will would produce a new atmosphere of conciliation that hope was doomed to disappointment.

The Synod reassembled for its 39th session on December 27th. The Remonstrants presented their observations on the *Heidelberg Catechism* in two documents; Episcopius and seven of his colleagues had signed one paper, Nielle and three others had signed the second. Three of the Remonstrants (Leo, Vesekius and Ryckewaart) had no comments to make. Scultetus of the Palatinate asked for a copy of these observations, as the Palatinate representatives had come to the Synod with a special charge to defend their *Catechism* and to see that no changes were made in it. The President then informed them that they must follow the orders of the Synod on questions of procedure, and the Synod would not permit any refutations of the views of others. Hereupon a new controversy began, in the course of which Pynakker declared that the doctrine of Reprobation ought to be discussed *first*, but immediately added that he meant to say *chiefly*, as it was the most controversial topic. He agreed that the logical order was to put Election before Reprobation. The explanation, however, was not accepted. Poppius, one of the most pacific of the Remonstrants, says about this incident: "This was

taken very wrong and imputed to us all, as if we were all of opinion that the discussion of the doctrine of Reprobation ought to precede that of Election. Upon which the foreigners and others were desired to express their minds. However, this was said by none, much less by all. But this was their way: if anything was said by one of us for the advantage of the rest, and in all our names, then the President seemed to be displeased at our unanimity; then we were told, that we were cited singly and personally, and that we did not compose a Society or Body of men. But when any one of us happened to drop a word that was capable of being wrested and misconstrued, then what was said by one was sure to be imputed to us all." They all declared that they could not conscientiously leave it to the Synod to say how their case should be presented: they feared that no opportunity would be given them of discussing Calvin's *horrida decreta*. When they were asked to retire the Synod refused to admit that conscience could be involved in a question of procedure. "Lydius observed," says Hales, "that it had been the custom of all those who favoured Pelagianism to trouble the Church with the question of Reprobation. D. Gomarus, that saw that his Iron was in the fire (for I persuade myself that the Remonstrants' spleen is chiefly against him), began to tell us that Episcopius had falsified the Tenant of Reprobation: that no man taught that God absolutely decreed to cast man away without sin; but as He did decree the end, so He did decree the means: that is, as He predestinated man to death, so He predestinated him to sin, the only way to death: and so he mended the question, as Tinkers mend Kettles, and made it worse than it was before."[1] When Episcopius and his supporters were called in they were told that they might treat Election and Reprobation so far as was necessary, but that it was for the Synod to decide how the questions should be considered. No plea of the rights of conscience would be listened to. The reply was that they would not submit to this procedure, and a warning was given

[1] Hales, p. 57.

them by the lay commissioners that the States-General would not tolerate their obstinacy much longer. The next day they sent a letter to the Synod explaining the reasons for their refusal. Some time was spent by the officials over this letter, but it was not read publicly. Instead, a number of Arminian books were brought in and the Remonstrants were summoned. A resolution of the lay commissioners was read to them in which they were ordered to come to business. They answered that their position was explained in their letter. Bogerman then took up one of the volumes from the table and began to inquire whether they still adhered to views expressed at the Hague Conference, which he read out. Episcopius (who was not in the ministry at the time of the Hague Conference) demanded liberty to expound their views in their own way. Leo declared that he would rather resign from the ministry than submit to such a catechism : he had already suffered one in Gelderland. Nielle said that he had not the ability to answer readily any question put to him in Latin (though his opponents considered that he had hitherto shown no lack of fluency in Latin, nor readiness of mind). All the Remonstrants objected to the procedure that was suggested, but the Synod received the plea of Episcopius that they might follow their own judgment as to the method of conducting their own case with scornful laughter. They were given till four o'clock the next day to submit to the will of the Synod. Feeling was evidently rising. The attempt to divide the Remonstrants was a failure, for the pressure that had been brought to bear upon them had only succeeded in welding them more closely together.

In the afternoon a session was held with closed doors in which their letter was read and the difficulties of the situation were faced. They had reached a crisis in which the Remonstrants must yield or some new method be used. If they were dismissed the Synod was liable to a charge of unwillingness to hear the other side ; if they remained they would continue to be a hindrance to the Synod. The opinions of the foreign divines were

requested, and it was decided to send to the States-General a report of the situation and to ask for guidance.

On Saturday, December 29th, the Remonstrants heard a reasoned statement of the argument of the Synod that it had the right to prescribe how its own business should be conducted. They were promised that Reprobation should be dealt with so far as was necessary after Election had been considered. Moreover, if some found it difficult to answer questions *ex tempore*, the Synod would put its questions to those who were more adept. The Remonstrants asked for a copy of this paper, and the discussion broke out anew. The judgments of the foreigners were then read to them, of which that of Great Britain was the most moderate and that of Geneva the most antagonistic. The former declared that the Government must be obeyed, but that all the Articles which they could show had been taught by the Contra-Remonstrants ought to be considered. The latter considered it intolerable that men few in number and moderate in quality should superciliously reject the opinions of all others. The Remonstrants asked for time to prepare a reply in writing to these strictures and injunctions, and were given until six o'clock.

The evening session was prolonged from six to ten, and was of a stormy character. The reply which the cited ministers delivered was a plain "No" to the orders of the lay commissioners if only a choice of Yes or No was allowed them. If they could explain their position they were ready to deal with every Article clearly, beginning with Election and proceeding to Reprobation. They would also refute the doctrines of the Contra-Remonstrants, "and of those whom they hold to be orthodox." They would answer in writing to questions put to them, and would appoint those who could give *viva voce* replies if necessary. They also promised to proceed with decency and moderation. Bogerman picked out the expression "those whom they hold to be orthodox" and asked who they were. Episcopius replied that they would come to them in due course. When the President could get no satisfaction

on this point he broke out angrily: "If you will not name them I will. They are Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin, Beza, Marlorat, Martyr, Zanchius, Piscator, Perkins and Whitaker. Those venerable men; those brave heroes; those noble lights of the Church; those happy souls whose memory is blessed both by God and man. These are they whom you intend to expose." He apologized for this passionate outburst to the lay commissioners and begged them to bring the deceitful conduct of the Remonstrants to an end. He then asked the foreigners for their views. The English said they were quite weary of the proceedings. They might as well get the views of the Remonstrants from their books. Balcanqual was more judicious, and pointed out that they had expressed their willingness to answer questions. Scultetus thought it a waste of time to confer with them. Since they arrived he had not been able to discover the least show of piety in them. Most of the other foreign delegates, with the exception of Matthias Martinus of Bremen, agreed that it was useless to proceed further with the Remonstrants. The representatives of the United Provinces were even more outspoken than those from abroad. The Remonstrants were again called in and pressed for the last time to give the simple affirmative or negative answer to the orders they had received. As it was impossible for them to do this they were dismissed from the Synod, told not to leave the town without permission and informed that a commission would be sent to the Hague to report their disobedience to the States-General. There is a certain irony in the fact that Polyander preached on the last day of the year a special sermon on the text, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace."

At the New Year there was a little breathing space until the reply of the States-General should be received. A few personal matters came before the Synod at this time. The Church at Bommel asked for the services of their minister Henry Leo, at the Christmas celebration of the Lord's Supper, for in that province the Old Style

was observed and their Christmas limped along ten days behind that of Holland. This was refused, but Isaac Frederici was allowed to go to Utrecht to visit a sick child. An appeal to the Synod by Hoorn ministers who were suspected of Arminianism was put on one side, as the Synod could not then deal with individuals. It was otherwise in the case of letters, and a deputation from the Contra-Remonstrant congregation at Kampen appealing for protection. Two of the Kampen ministers were among the thirteen Remonstrants cited to the Synod. It was decided to summon the remaining two ministers, who were also Remonstrants, in spite of the assurance of the Kampen magistrates that they would see that the Contra-Remonstrants suffered no injustice.

The report of the lay commissioners on the progress of the Synod was considered by a meeting of the States-General at which both Stadholders were present, held at the Hague on the first day of the new year. The proceedings of the Synod were approved and the Remonstrants were ordered to obey Synod decrees under pain of civil as well as ecclesiastical sanctions. In case of disobedience their views were to be taken from any of their publications or utterances, and judged by the Word of God. They themselves were to remain in the town and were to answer sincerely and without evasion such questions as should be put to them. This threatening document was read to them in the 46th session on the morning of January 3rd. Their reply was as resolute as before. One by one they declared that, after prayer and calm consideration, they could not conscientiously proceed along the lines a biased Synod had marked out for them. Arguments were bandied backwards and forwards, Charles Nielle and Poppius being most prominent in exchanging words with the President. As there was no sign of yielding on the part of the Remonstrants, Bogerman asked them how they could have dreamed of mutual toleration when they regarded their opponents as holding abominable and detestable doctrines. Their reply was that when Mutual Toleration was under discussion the Contra-Remonstrants repudiated an

extreme putting of the doctrine of Election; but if they accepted the monstrous notion of Piscator no toleration was possible. Episcopius declared, "In such case I shall plainly say 'My soul, come not into their Assembly.'" "This is bold enough," replied Bogerman; "it is high time you should be gone, for you have tired me and yourselves too, and you are enough to tire out the whole world with your contradictions."[1] On the Friday, Leo, who had not been present the previous day, was examined separately. He was complimented by the President on showing more reason than his colleagues because he explained his refusal to answer theological questions by saying that he considered the Synod as a party. Moreover, he was ready to agree that ecclesiastical questions should be judged by ecclesiastical courts. He did not for all that waver in his loyalty to his colleagues, and succeeded in getting a personal statement read in which he expressed the belief that in a fair conference, if the doctrine of a rigid Reprobation were qualified, there was little or no dispute left. If they could not freely set forth their views there he was prepared to have the Remonstrants' cause judged by their writings. This indeed was what the Synod proceeded to do. There was some difference of opinion between the home and foreign divines as to the best way of going to work, but the view of the President prevailed, and the Synod spent some private sessions in copying out the Remonstrants' views and Bogerman's questions which attempted to summarize them. Progress was slow, and the Remonstrants took the opportunity of putting their case in writing to the States-General. Their expressions of loyalty and regret at their inability to yield on the ground of conscience received little favour in that quarter. They were also in correspondence with Wtenbogaert, who was then in exile at Antwerp. He felt his isolation very keenly, but was full of appreciation for their firm and manly attitude. "Though the scruples of every one among you may not be just the same," he said, "yet all of you agree in this one point:

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 129.

that this sectarian magisterialness and domineering in the House of the Lord, consisting in a peremptory decision of all controversies . . . is blameworthy. It ought likewise to be a rule to us that we who hold the foundation, Jesus Christ . . . should also suffer others to enjoy the same liberty that we desire for ourselves with moderation and for edification." "Your President's sweet expressions about the comfortable doctrine of Election and maintaining that we might leave the matter there, without speaking much of Reprobation, betray a distrust of his cause."[1] The reply of the Remonstrants emphasized the strength of the opposition they had to face and expressed the regret that the Synod had not been held some years before according to the advice of Wtenbogaert, when better results might have been expected.

On January 11th the Remonstrants were called before the Synod again to see whether they had discovered a more conciliatory spirit in the interval. The President produced a long scroll of questions and began to ask for replies. Episcopius said they were ready to answer 500 or 1,000 questions if the Synod would allow them to expound their views so far as they deemed it necessary, and to refute the contrary opinions. The usual dispute followed, but for a moment there seemed a chance of progress. Episcopius seized upon a word of the President's which seemed to allow the Remonstrants to go beyond the set form of the questions and professed his willingness to meet the Synod on these conditions. He stretched out his hand to receive Bogerman's manuscript and said they would present a full reply in writing. The President, however, would not agree to that form of procedure, and the chance was lost. Some of the foreign theologians thought that this new approach of the Remonstrants should have been welcomed, but the majority regarded it as a new piece of chicanery. Balcanqual, in writing to Carleton, declared that, "On Friday, when they seemed to yield, then the *Exteri Theologi* could not be heard for the continuing of them in the

[1] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 209 (in Brandt).

Synod. Nay, the trick that was put upon them was a little too palpable; for the Delegates had their Decree of Dismission written before they came into the Synod, yet our voices were asked, hoping it should have been answerable to their Decree: but finding it was otherwise, without so much as laying their heads together for consultation, they published a Decree which they brought with them into the Synod."[1] In other words, the officials had already decided to waste no more time with the thirteen in the Synod itself. The next day, the Remonstrants spent the whole afternoon and evening on a long conference with the lay commissioners. At times they spoke to one another as if they were finding a way of compromise; at others they flared out in hot charges against each other, the Remonstrants being charged with rebellion and schism. No progress towards settlement was reached by this last attempt; the only addition the Remonstrants were willing to make was that they were ready to answer fully and clearly in writing any questions on the Five Articles which the President might put to them provided that they were given a reasonable time for reply. Neither party had any confidence in the *bona fides* of the other. The Remonstrants appeared before the Synod for the last time at the 57th session held on Monday morning, January 14th. Before they put in an appearance the President gave a report of the last attempts to bring them to obedience, and secured the opinions of some of the foreign theologians, who held that the Synod should trouble itself no further with such prevaricators. They were then called in and asked whether they would now obey the States and the Synod. For answer they presented a long document, which for some time the President refused to receive. It contained additional remarks on the first Article, which had been asked for, with a preamble in which they maintained their attitude, and declared that they understood that the majority of foreigners regarded their position as not unreasonable. They were disabused of this notion by the President,

[1] Hales, *Letters*, p. 73.

who said that the gentleness of the foreign theologians proceeded from their mistake, which they had now admitted. Bogerman dismissed them with what Balcanqual called in his letter to the British Ambassador "such a powdering speech as I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard with grief enough, I protest I am afflicted when I write of it. For if the Remonstrants should write, that the President pronounced a sentence which was not the sentence of the Synod, they should not lie."[1] Hales wrote to Carleton more cautiously and gave Bogerman's words without comment, though there is little doubt what Hales thought of it all. "The Synod has treated you," said the President, "with all gentleness, mildness, friendliness, patience, forbearance and long-suffering, plainly, sincerely, honestly, and kindly; but all the returns made by you have been nothing but base artifices, cheats and lies. I shall dismiss you with the character which one of the foreigners gave of you; to wit, You began with a lie, and with a lie do you end. For Episcopius made his first entry into the Synod with a lie, when he told us he had no other copy of his speech, and he took his leave with a lie when he denied he had said that the explanation of the first Article was ready, whereas the whole Synod had heard him say it. . . . You are not worthy that the Synod should have any further dealings with you. . . . I therefore dismiss you in the name of the Lords Commissioners and of this Synod: be gone." As they left, Episcopius said, "The Lord God shall judge between us concerning the tricks and lies you have laid to our charge." Others declared that their appeal lay to the tribunal of Christ. Hollinger, as he passed through the crowd of spectators, bade the one who preceded him to depart out of the "Council of the ungodly." And so the Synod broke up.[2]

If we consider that the attitude of the Synod, and especially that of its President, towards the Remonstrants was overbearing and unfair we must remember

[1] Hales, *Letters*, pp. 73, 74.

[2] Brandt, in loc.; cf. Hales, *Letters*, p. 77.

that it was not without provocation. The Remonstrants challenged the validity of the Synod itself, adopted an attitude of equality towards their judges and claimed the right to expound their own case in their own way in spite of all arguments and warnings. Mutual suspicion made each party distrust the tactics of the other. Delays and disputes did not soothe ruffled feelings, and the pent-up irritability of the President broke out at the last. But if the policy and behaviour of the Remonstrants cannot be altogether approved, it is certain that their steadfastness and eloquence influenced many. John Hales came to Dort imbued with the popular Calvinistic creed of the times, but as he listened to Episcopius expounding the great words, "God so loved the *world* that He gave His only begotten Son," and demonstrating the universal scope of the Atonement, he changed his mind, and as he says in one of his vivid phrases, "I bade John Calvin good-night."

CHAPTER X

THE FINDINGS OF THE SYNOD

The harsh dismissal of the Remonstrants was unpleasing to many members of the Synod. Crocius of Bremen made a protest in the Synod itself, saying that such decisive action should not have been taken without consulting the Synod. The President explained that he had acted at the wish of the lay commissioners, but made no apology for his own "passionate speeches."[1] Even so unsympathetic an outsider as Dudley Carleton said, "The course is approved by the States, yet the manner of their dismission in very rough and uncivil terms, used by the President Bogermannus (who before won much commendation of modesty and temper), is generally disliked." Carleton considered that the Remonstrants deserved all the contumely they received, but that such violence was unfitting the dignity of the Synod. But now there was no option but to "go forward, and for the countenance of their action do the best they may, leaving the events to God."[2] If they could not go forward by conference they must turn to the writings of the Remonstrants, both those handed in at the Synod and those that had been previously published. The States-General gave its approval both to the expulsion of the Remonstrants and to the decision to proceed to the judgment of their tenets from their writings. These orders were read to the cited ministers on January 21st, and they were forbidden either to approach the Synod or to leave the town. They wished to send a deputation to the Hague to put their case before the States and Prince Maurice, but this was denied them. They had to be content with written memorials to the States-General and to the Stadholder, in which

[1] Hales, *Letters*, p. 79. [2] Ibid., p. 177; cf. p. 85.

they defended their conduct and complained of the unjust treatment they had received. They concluded with a plea for methods of conciliation. To these petitions no answer was ever received. On their cause, the judgments of the Synod and the States-General were identical.

At this unpropitious moment du Moulin of Paris was at work on a scheme, favoured at that time by James I, for the reunion of the Protestant Churches. He thought the Synod might be able to draw up a Confession of Faith to which both Calvinist and Lutheran could subscribe. Bogerman gave him fair words, and the promise that the matter should be considered, which was one way of putting the question aside. There were already too many thorny questions to face without this additional complication. Carleton was right in saying that such a project "doth ill suit with our business of suppressing the Arminians; and therefore it will not be thought fit to make mention thereof in the Synod."[1]

There was something anomalous in the presence of Anglicans in this Presbyterian assembly, and the Bishop of Llandaff must have seemed like a speckled bird in the midst of so many presbyters and elders with a presbyter as the Moderator of the Assembly. He was treated with great respect and spoke with moderation and cogency, but his endeavour to promote peace on one occasion roused the resentment of Gomarus, who flared up with a passionate declaration that the Synod was to be ruled by reason and not by authority. Gomarus was generally condemned for this breach of courtesy, and pressure was brought to bear upon him to make him apologize; "but yet," says Balcanqual, "the old tuffe man is not come to his Lordship."[2] The same writer felt the incongruity of the President dictating the Canons of Synod at a later stage of proceedings, while a Bishop was meekly writing them down. The Dean of Worcester had now retired from the scene of action owing to illness. The Arminian writers have not been slow to suspect that the real trouble in his case was a

[1] Hales, *Letters*, pp. 86, 178. [2] Ibid., pp. 112, 117.

disapproval of what was taking place. The Dean, however, wrote to the Synod to say of it that there was no place on earth which was so like heaven, and one in which he would have preferred to fix his habitation.[1] Moreover, Carleton says that the Dean stayed with him for ten days at the Hague in a very weak state of health.[2] He received kind words of farewell, a parting present, and his place was taken by Dr. Thomas Goad on January 17th.

The foreign divines in general, and the English in particular, must have felt very much out of place when local questions of discipline were under discussion. The case of the ministers of Kampen came up repeatedly. All four were Remonstrants; two were among those already in Dort with Episcopius, and the other two were summoned to appear to answer certain charges that were brought against them. They were full of reasons why they should not come. They could not leave the service of the Church unprovided for; they were far from well; when they were at length about to set out a great crowd of weeping people constrained them to remain. At first the magistrates supported them in this attitude. The Synod declared that the Classis could find ministers to take their place and regarded the weeping mob as a worked-up demonstration. At last they were given fourteen days, and if, then, they still continued recalcitrant they were to be suspended from the ministry. As they failed to appear, they were suspended, Bremen being the only voice for more moderate counsels; and one of the strongest Arminian towns in the provinces was left to the ministrations of Contra-Remonstrants before the doctrinal question had been decided (March 11th).

There was now but little time to be devoted to the consideration of local questions, for the Synod was hard at work framing its judgment of the Five Articles. It was easy to say that the Remonstrants should be judged by their writings, but not so easy to devise the best

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 203, 204.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 330.

method of procedure. It was decided that each of the Articles should be discussed in turn, but that no synodical judgments should be framed until the discussion of the fifth Article was completed. The theological professors were to open the conversations in turn with an introductory exposition of some question suggested to them by the President; it should then be open to the Synod to make additional contributions. The work was in some measure divided between the different colleges of which the Synod was composed, and scribes were at work making extracts and summaries from Remonstrant writings on each particular point. It was a somewhat clumsy procedure, for the discussion followed the lines laid down by the President and the first speaker, and they varied considerably in their ability to give a thorough exposition of their subject in the hour and a half which they generally seem to have appropriated for this task. Differences began to appear between the members of the Synod themselves, and more of the sessions were held in private. This was a great disappointment to people who had come from all parts of the country to see the Synod, and also to the innkeepers, who found that their trade was beginning to decline. According to the Bishop of Llandaff the number of spectators admitted to the early sessions was between four and five hundred.[1] Now they were sometimes allowed to hear the introductory oration, and then asked to leave before the discussion began, or the later custom was to admit people to see the Synod in session and to exclude them after the opening prayers.[2] The reason advanced for holding more sessions in private was the nature of the crowd that gathered. "For," says Hales, "many youths, yea, and Artificers, and I know not what rabble besides, thrust in, and trouble the place. As for women, whole troops of them have been seen there, and the best places for spectators reserved for them."[3] As there were so few public sessions, Hales returned to the Hague at the beginning of February, and the Ambassador now de-

[1] Hales, *Letters*, p. 174. [2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 227.
[3] Hales, *Letters*, p. 83.

pended on the Scottish representative, Walter Balcanqual, for the account of the Synod proceedings.

The whole of the latter half of January 1619 was taken up with the Remonstrants' first Article. At the 62nd session on January 17th, in the absence of Polyander, Sibrandus Lubbertus opened the discussion on Election by a discourse against the Remonstrant view that God's only decree of Election was one to the effect that only believers should be saved. He examined the passages of Scripture which they were accustomed to use, such as John iii, 36, Ephesians i, 4 and Hebrews xi, 6, and showed that God's first decree was to save some particular persons, and His second decree was to give them faith in order to make the first decree efficacious. Gomarus continued the subject the next day with a divinity lecture of an hour and a half's duration after the manner of the schools, covering much the same ground, but adding that God the Father was the Cause of Election, and Christ the Executor of it. Although both these professors were supralapsarians they spoke with moderation, and seem to have expressed the general view, as was seen from the speeches of the Bishop of Llandaff and other foreigners who followed them. A few days later Martinius of Bremen challenged the statements of Gomarus which regarded Christ merely as the Executor of Salvation. Martinius said that for his part he maintained that Christ was also the Author and Procurer of Salvation. This provoked a very warm reply from the irascible Fleming, and it was a difficult matter to keep the peace. Indeed there conciliation was a very temporary one, for the quarrel broke out again over other subjects. Other points in the first Article were dealt with in successive sessions, Hales considering the speech of Altingius of the Palatinate on Reprobation to be the most finished. He regretted that in the gathering darkness he stood too far away from the candles to be able to take notes, and would have been pleased with more discussion of a difficult subject. Altingius, however, tried to show that God had reprobated whom He pleased without reference to sin; yet He was not the

author of sin, for sin sprang from man's corrupt nature. Finally, that though the hardening of men's hearts and the blinding of men's eyes proceeded from God, yet they proceeded from a just judgment of the Almighty. "Holy is God, though He blinds; holy is God, though He reprobates; holy is God, though He hardens."

There was some impatience at this slow procedure among the foreign theologians, and when the discussions on the first Article were ended they made an attempt to change the method. They were overruled by the voice of the majority, and the month of February began with orations by Balcanqual and Cruciger of Marburg on the second Article. The Remonstrants say that the latter made a poor show of it as he was hardly able to read his own writing in the candle light.[1] Balcanqual challenged the Remonstrant contention that Redemption had been acquired for all the world, while the application of its benefits belonged only to believers. He maintained, as a good Calvinist, that there was no need for this differentiation between the Acquisition and the Administration of Redemption. The discussion of the second Article was chiefly of interest because of the differences of opinion between the English delegates as to the teaching of their Church on the subject of the scope of the Atonement. The thirty-first of the English Articles of Religion declares that "the offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone." Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward maintained that "the sins of the whole world" was a reference to each individual in the human family. The Bishop, Balcanqual and Dr. Goad kept to the Calvinist interpretation that Christ died for the elect only, and that as the elect consisted of all sorts of men, they could be said to represent the whole world. As neither party could convince the other, they sent to England to receive an official interpretation of Article 31 by the Archbishop

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 215.

of Canterbury. The reply from England seems to have been hardly satisfactory, as the Archbishop appears to have supported the limited view of the scope of the Atonement, while according to Heylin the instructions of the King were that the English divines "should not oppose the Article of universal Redemption."[1] Balcanqual apparently confirms this, though his explanation is not lucidity itself. "Our judgment in the Second Article is already read in the Synod (March 17), so we must study to frame ourselves to our directions from England, in making of the Canons; my Lord his Grace's Letter is to have us conform ourselves to the received distinction and restriction, with which his Grace acquainted his Majesty and received approbation from him; but I must needs say, that the directions which your Lordship hath sent from Secretary Nanton do seem to will us to be as favourable to the general propositions as may be, giving as little offence to the Lutherans as we can; which counsel in my poor judgment we have in our Theses already followed."[2] They had indeed avoided the main issue, their nearest approach to it lying in the statement that "Christ died for all inasmuch as by means of faith all who fulfil the conditions can by virtue of this ransom obtain and have remission of their sins and eternal life. He died for the elect inasmuch as they infallibly obtain faith and eternal life by the merit of the death which is specially devised for them according to the eternal good will of God." It will be agreed that this awkward phraseology bears all the marks of a typical English compromise. Davenant and Ward were not alone in believing that Christ died for all men; Martinius of Bremen shared the same view. They could make little impression on the Synod, and it was difficult for individuals to act against their own college. In the case of both Great Britain and Bremen the majority was on the side of the rest of the Synod.

It would be tedious to follow the discussions through

[1] Heylin, *Historia Quinquarticularis*, III, p. 106.
[2] Hales, *Letters*, p. 135.

the Five Articles, especially as Hales gave a true report when he said, "Our Synod goes on like a watch, the main Wheels upon which the whole business turns are least in sight."[1] Matters were complicated by the fact that the Remonstrants were told on January 23rd that they might in the next fortnight add in writing what they considered necessary as a vindication of the Five Points. This concession was made to silence the growing criticism that men were about to be condemned unheard. The Remonstrants set to work with such good will that at the end of fourteen days they handed in a volume of 204 sheets. They had then only got as far as the second Article, and had freely refuted the contrary opinions as well as established their own. They were censured by the lay commissioners for their criticisms of the Synod and for their attacks on Contra-Remonstrant views. They were also told that they should have completed their work and not have drawn it out to such a tedious length. Their excuse was the importance of the case. After bandying arguments with the commissioners, they were granted another week in which to finish their Apology. When Bogerman showed this first volume to the Synod Balcanqual wrote, "I was ashamed to think that men of judgment could imagine that the Synod could have time to peruse it ; for it is a little Book of Martyrs, it doth exceed two hundred *folia* in *folio*."[2] Sixty pages more were handed in on February 15th, but that did not complete the defence of the last three Articles. They complained that by working day and night they were still unable to meet the requirements of the Synod. A final ten days was granted to them, with the warning that it was the last extension of time that would be allowed. Eighty more pages were then presented, and still with much argument the Remonstrants pressed for permission to continue their Apologia. There seemed to be something magical about this productiveness. The chief workman was undoubtedly Episcopius, but he was well supported by Charles Nielle, Barlaeus and Borrius. Several sessions

[1] Hales, *Letters*, p. 94. [2] Ibid., p. 100.

were given up to reading that part of their book which contained the proofs of their doctrines; the rest was submitted to a committee for inspection, with instructions that they should report to the Synod whatever they deemed necessary.

The official report of the 85th session (February 19th) states that "there was a dispute between the Flemish professors and the Bremen divines concerning several questions dealing with the explanation of the third and fourth Articles; also in the use and abuse of philosophy and philosophical terms which are employed in theological controversies and disputes." This refers to a new quarrel between Martinius and those keen disputants, Gomarus and Sibrandus Lubbertus, on the relation of God's omnipotence to the human will. The subject had been up before, and Martinius had asserted that God could be called the natural cause of human actions. He had appealed to Goclenius, the Professor of Philosophy at Marburg, for support. Goclenius was regarded as a great philosopher, but in this instance he was a broken reed, for he first had given his support to Martinius, and then had been won over by Lubbertus. He was also responsible for the sage remark that what was true in philosophy might not be good doctrine in theology. The Remonstrants regarded Goclenius as insincere, believing that he concealed his agreement with Melanchthon in theology because, as he frankly said, the Prince and the State were against him, and there was plenty of good wine at Dort.[1] Rumours added further details about this Epicurean, but there are many indications in this period that heavy drinking and an interest in theology were not necessarily divorced. Both parties were ready to circulate any stories which reflected on the character of their opponents, and Dort was full of gossip and rumours. There is little wonder that expressions of strong feeling should at times be heard in the Synod. Martinius was orthodox, but he supported the two English theologians who believed in the universality of the Atonement, and had committed

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 211, 224, 228–9.

an even graver offence in pleading for milder treatment for the ministers of Kampen. It was probably this, rather than his attempt to philosophize about the limited and unlimited free will of man, that provoked the attack. It was when the Bishop of Llandaff attempted to intervene that he received the severe rebuff from Gomarus to which we have already referred. Feelings ran so high that the Bremen representatives absented themselves from the Synod for some days, and would have left altogether but for the action of the English, who secured a reconciliation through the President with the help of Dudley Carleton.

One of the authorities to whom Martinius appealed was Paraeus, the old Heidelberg theologian. This roused the antagonism of Scultetus, who produced many quotations from Paraeus on the other side. The Synod received a long screed from Paraeus himself at the beginning of March in which he surveyed the whole position of the Remonstrants from the standpoint of orthodox Calvinism. Two whole sessions were given up to reading this document, on the mornings of March 5th and 6th. The afternoon session between these two readings was occupied by Martinius by a discourse on the person of Christ, in which he defended the omnipresence and eternity of Christ against certain positions of Vorstius. Here there was little opportunity for differences to arise in the Synod, and comparative peace was restored. There was little of special note in the refutation of the Five Articles by Paraeus. On the second Article he said that the Remonstrants were guilty of blasphemy when they said that Christ had failed in Jerusalem's refusal of Him, for they implied that it was not merely that the external call to repentance had been ignored, but (according to the Remonstrants) that the attraction of His grace had failed in their hearts. He returns to the theme of resistible grace under the third and fourth Articles, and spends most of his strength in ridiculing the idea that the grace of God can be resisted by weak humanity, beginning with the absurdity of the Arminian term "resistible," and leading up to the

charge that with Pelagius the Arminians abused the doctrine of grace.

After this interlude, in which the Synod had listened to the reading of the views of the Remonstrants and Paraeus, it turned its attention to the findings of its own members on the Five Articles. The Remonstrants were still busy with their new explanations, but these later writings were never read in the Synod. Beginning with the evening session of March 6th, day after day was given up to the reading of the findings of each college on each Article in turn. The order was invariably the same. The foreign divines gave their verdict first, beginning with Great Britain and ending with Bremen. Then followed the representatives of the Dutch Churches, beginning with the theological professors and ending with the Walloon deputies. There the judgments lie in full detail at the end of the official acts of the Synod, nineteen of them on every article (Articles 3 and 4 being taken together), with an occasional additional individual effort by Sibrandus Lubbertus when he felt that some special emphasis was needed. There are eighty different essays, occupying 700 closely printed pages. The dust has gathered thickly over them, and is not likely to be frequently disturbed, yet one cannot but admire the solidity of the Calvinist theology and agree with Bogerman when they came to the end on Thursday, March 21st, that a remarkable unanimity had been displayed. Not that there are no differences. There is a great variety of style, from the wearisome diffuseness of Emden to the terseness of Geneva, which was content to affirm the doctrine of Calvin and add its scriptural proofs without wasting time in reasoning with heretics. Perhaps the weightiest arguments are presented by the home theological professors, while some of the provincial productions seem to have achieved the most trivial reasons. In the Synod itself no individual spoke with greater effect than Walaeus of Middelburg; he may be largely responsible for the statements of the professors. At the other extreme are the findings of Drenthe and Gelderland, which add little to these

difficult discussions.[1] The chief differences of opinion are soon mentioned: on the second Article Martinius of Bremen presented a separate paper in which he defended the Remonstrant tenet that the death of Christ was for every soul of man. He based this on God's love for all His family, and on the general call of the Gospel, but denied that it was a possibility for all men to remain unbelievers; for he strongly defended the election of individuals on whom faith was conferred as a gift of God and rejected universalism in the modern sense, which had some adherents in Germany even in the seventeenth century. The English document on this subject avoided the crucial question because of the differences that existed among themselves. The other real divergence was between the sublapsarians and the supralapsarians. Gomarus was the only person who had the courage to assert the extreme doctrine that God had chosen certain individuals for eternal life, and decreed eternal death for others even before the Fall of Man. The rest of the Synod seem to have modified the strict logic of Calvin and Beza so far as to call Election God's choice of individuals from the mass of fallen men, while Reprobation was merely leaving the rest to the natural results of their own fallen condition. Gomarus declared that no such decision had been made by the French, Dutch or English Churches. When he was challenged on the doctrine of the English Church by the Bishop of Llandaff, he said that in the English Articles of religion predestination to life was said to be for some "whom God had chosen in Christ out of mankind." Whereupon Dr. Goad read the words of the 17th Article of Religion: "Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) He hath constantly

[1] "God wills that all should be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth. Does He then also will that those from whom the Holy Spirit prevented the word being preached should come thither? Certainly not." (Gelderland on Article II. *Acts*, III, 106.)

"It is most repulsive to say that Christ obtained redemption, and, having obtained it, did not apply it" (Drenthe on the same Article. *Acts*, III, 170).

decreed by His counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour." He pointed out that the omission of the words "to deliver from curse and damnation" overlooked the fact that the English Church had decided that God's choice of the elect was from those who had already fallen. The President warned Gomarus of the danger of rashly censuring the doctrines of other Churches, but did not support the Bishop in a plea that the Synod should make a decision in favour of the sublapsarian doctrine. The subject was postponed until the Synod should frame its canons, when it was carefully buried.

The Remonstrants felt that the series of orations against their opinions, followed by the verdict of each section of the Synod before their own complete statement was handed in, seemed like judging the prisoner without hearing his cause. They believed that they were kept at Dort to prevent their statement of the Synod's partiality creating unrest and disturbances in the country. They succeeded in issuing anonymously (in spite of prohibitions against such action) a pamphlet entitled, *The Nullities, Mismanagement and unjust Proceedings of the National Synod held at Dort in the Years* 1618 *and* 1619.[1] It is not known who was the author, but it must have come from their circle. On February 25th Frederici and Nielle heard that the Utrecht magistrates had deposed them from their ministry in that town, whereupon they naturally asked that they might be permitted to leave, as they were no longer ecclesiastical persons and the Synod had decided that it could not call Grevinchoven since he had been expelled from the ministry. This request was refused, but the high-handed action of the Utrecht magistrates savours more of the methods of an Arminian oligarchy than a decent Presbyterianism. A little later Sapma of Hoorn heard that his wife was being put out of her house, although she was expecting the birth of a child.

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 237; Hales, *Letters*, pp. 117, 118.

When he could not obtain permission he took French leave, found his wife in an empty house, and brought her back with him to Dort. The attitude of his friends was so threatening when he left Hoorn that the magistrates called out the militia, who fired on the crowd, killing six or seven, and wounding forty.[1] As this incident immediately followed a riot at the neighbouring town of Alkmaar on the occasion of the visit of a commission to inquire into church affairs there, it is not surprising that the authorities were somewhat alarmed at the possibility of the spread of disorder.

It was on March 18th that the Remonstrants handed in to the President of the lay commissioners their last papers in defence of the fourth and fifth Articles. It was accompanied by a statement of the misrepresentations to which they had been subjected, and of the unfair conduct of their case. They rejected the charge of Pelagianism but professed that they would rather be Pelagians than Manichees or Stoics as their opponents were. As a matter of fact, their theology was closely akin to that of Melanchthon, whom the Contra-Remonstrants highly praised when it pleased them to do it. A long discussion followed in which it was pointed out that the time was short, and it was impossible to go through such an apology. The Remonstrants said it was offered to the Lords' Commissioners, and not to the Synod. Let the Secretary make a note of that remark, said Martin Gregorij. "He need not give himself that trouble," said Episcopius, "for we have inserted the same words at the beginning and end of our paper."[2] Balcanqual gives a somewhat exaggerated picture of the size of this new book. "Yesterday after the forenoon session," he says, "the President called me into his lodging, and told me he would show me a miracle, which in truth he did; for there he showed me a volume which the Remonstrants that morning had given in to the delegates upon the third, fourth and fifth Articles. I was, I confess, astonished when I looked on it; for I could not with mine own hand lift it from the table.

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 238 f. [2] Ibid., III, 264 f.

It is above twice as much as all they have given in yet: in good faith, my Lord, I think it is fully as big as one of our Church great Bibles. . . . I told the President that it was a thing impossible the Synod could take notice of the contents of that volume under six months; he answered me that, for my comfort, he would show me two lines in the Preface, which would rid me of that fear, and so he did; for in these lines they do protest that they do not offer this volume to the Synod; for they profess that they have nothing, nor will have nothing, to do with the Synod."[1]

Indeed it had become clear to the Remonstrants that their excommunication was certain, and they had made up their minds to make no submission. Their last declaration had shown in how many cases Synods and Councils of the Church had gone grievously astray, and they looked for nothing but another grievous blunder at Dort and a calamitous schism as the result. The Remonstrants in South Holland were already preparing for this. At the beginning of March they held a meeting of ministers and elders at Rotterdam, in which they definitely declared that no man was bound to any human writings or formularies save as such symbols were conformable to the Word of God. They thoroughly approved the conduct of the cited ministers at Dort, and determined to set up their own meetings for worship if they were expelled from the Churches. This decision agreed both with the opinions of the Remonstrant ministers at Dort and those of Wtenbogaert in his lonely exile at Antwerp.[2]

The foreigners' desire to be home by Easter was destined not to be fulfilled, but the Synod set itself resolutely to the task of drawing up its canons on the morning of March 22nd. At first the President set a draft of the canon on the first Article before the Synod for approval or amendment, and was prepared to do the same for the other Articles. This method provoked a good deal of criticism, and with reluctance Bogerman yielded to the appointment of a drafting committee of

[1] Hales, *Letters*, p. 136.

[2] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 218.

three foreign and three Low Country divines to help him and his assessors. It was decided that there should be no more meetings of the Synod until this committee work was finished. As each canon was drafted it was submitted to every college of deputies for criticism and necessary changes. Three weeks were spent in this task work, and it was Tuesday, April 16th, before the Synod met again to give its official approval to the canons.

In the meantime Easter had come and gone. The Remonstrants had observed the day by worshipping together in a private house. Poppius and Dwinglo preached on the Resurrection; the child of Sapma was baptized, with Episcopius and Poppius standing as godfathers. This may be regarded as the beginning of the Remonstrant Church as a separate organization. The cited ministers were not yet expelled, but they regarded their expulsion as certain, and had made their plans for the preservation of a separate church life. At this time copies of their last apology appeared in circulation printed under the title *Vale*, marking their farewell to the Communion which they had loved so well. When they were brought up before the Commissioners and questioned about the publication of this pamphlet they denied any knowledge of it, only admitting that they were in the habit of circulating many manuscript copies of their writings at Dort among their friends. They had just heard that their last petition to the States-General and to Prince Maurice to be allowed to return home had been refused.

It was another week before the Synod finally approved the canons. There were some minor criticisms, but a real divergence of opinion over the English desire to append a paragraph in which certain extreme Calvinist utterances should be condemned. They were supported by the representatives of Bremen and Hesse. The President was of opinion that as these extravagances were the utterances of foreign divines it was better not to meddle with them. The English, however, showed that it was in the books of Contra-Remonstrants that

they found the statements "that no man is able to do more good than he does," and "that God moved the tongues of men to blaspheme Him," to which they specially objected. In this matter the English were overruled, but they secured the deletion of the sentence "that the doctrines comprised in these canons ought to be esteemed the doctrines of the Reformed Churches," for they said that they had been deputed by their King and not their Church, and had no right to commit the Anglican Church to be bound by these findings. They said freely, however, that the doctrines of their own Church and the Netherlands Church were identical. At last, in the 135th and 136th sessions on April 23rd the canons were publicly read and signed, and the Synod was free to frame its verdict on the cited ministers, on Vorstius, and to deal with the revision of the *Catechism* and *Confession*.

The Preface states that the Remonstrant leaders refused to answer the Synod's questions, and therefore they had to proceed by examining the five dogmas "from writings, confessions and declarations, partly before published and partly, too, presented to the Synod." The judgment that follows is declared to be a unanimous verdict, in which the true doctrine is first expounded and then the errors which are to be rejected set forth.

I. The First Point of Doctrine concerning Predestination, Election and Reprobation

1. As all men have sinned in Adam and come under the penalty of the curse and eternal death, God would have done no injustice to anyone if He had determined to leave the whole human race under sin and the curse and to condemn it because of sin according to the words of the Apostle, "All the world is guilty before God. . . . All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God" (Rom. iii, 19, 23).[1] And "the wages of sin is death" (Rom. vi, 23).

[1] A.V. is followed as far as possible. The first quotation agrees neither with A.V., Vulgate nor Dutch Version.

2. But in this is the love of God manifested that He has sent His only Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life (1 John iv, 9, and John iii, 16).

3. Now to lead men to faith, God mercifully sends heralds of this glad news to whom He willeth, and when He willeth, by whose ministry men are called to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ crucified. For "How shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x, 14–15).

4. They who believe not the Gospel, on them the wrath of God remaineth; but they who receive it and embrace the Saviour Jesus with a true and living faith are delivered by Him from the wrath of God and perdition, and are made partakers of eternal life.

5. The cause or blame for this unbelief, as of all other sins, is not in God but in man. But faith in Jesus Christ and salvation by Him is a free gift of God, as it is written, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God" (Eph. ii, 8). In like manner, "It has been freely given you to believe in Christ" (Phil. i, 29).

6. That God in His own time gives faith to some and gives it not to others proceeds from His eternal decree. For "known unto God are all His works from the beginning of the world" (Acts xv, 18), and, "He worketh all things after the counsel of His own will" (Eph. i, 11). According to which decree He softens by grace the heart of the elect, however hard they are, and bends them to believe, but by a just judgment He leaves those who are not elect in their malice and hardness. And here the profound, merciful and at the same time just distinction chiefly reveals itself between men who are equally lost; or that decree of Election and Reprobation revealed in the Word of God. Which, as perverse, impure and unstable persons wrest it to their own destruction, so it gives an unspeakable comfort to holy and religious souls.

7. Now Election is the immutable purpose of God

by which, according to the free good pleasure of His will, of pure grace, He has chosen in Jesus Christ for salvation before the foundation of the world, out of the whole human race fallen by its own fault from its first innocence into sin and destruction, a certain number of men neither better nor more worthy than the rest with whom they were lying in the same misery. Which Jesus Christ, God has also appointed from all eternity Mediator and Head of all the elect and the ground of salvation, and therefore has decreed to give them to Christ to save them, to call and effectually draw them into communion with Himself both by His word and by His spirit: or to give them the true faith in Him, to justify, sanctify and after having powerfully kept them in the communion of His Son, finally to glorify them to show forth His mercy and the praise of the riches of His glorious grace, as it is written, "God hath chosen us in Christ before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love: having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, wherein He hath made us accepted in the beloved" (Eph. i, 4, 5, 6). And "Whom He did predestinate, them He also called: and whom He called, them He also justified: and whom He justified, them He also glorified" (Rom. viii, 30).

8. This Election is not of many kinds, but one, and the same of all that shall be saved in the Old and New Covenant, seeing that the Scripture proclaims a single good pleasure, determination and counsel of the Will of God, by which He has chosen us from eternity both to grace and glory, both to salvation and to the way of salvation, which He has prepared that we should walk in it.

9. This same Election is not made for any foreseen faith and obedience of faith, holiness or any other good quality and disposition as a pre-requisite cause or condition in the man who should be elected, but to give the faith and obedience of faith, holiness, etc. And therefore Election is the fountain of every saving good,

whence faith, holiness and the other saving gifts (indeed eternal life itself) flow, as its fruit and effect, according to the saying of the Apostle, "He hath chosen us," not because we were but "in order that we should be holy and without blame before Him in love" (Eph. i, 4).

10. Now the cause of this free Election is the sole good pleasure of God, not consisting in this, that He has chosen for salvation certain qualities or human actions from all that were possible, but that He has taken to Himself as a special inheritance certain individuals out of the common multitude of sinners, as it is written, "Before the children were born, neither having done any good or evil, etc., it was said unto her" (that is, to Rebecca), "The elder shall serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau I hated" (Rom. ix, 11, 12, 13). And "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed" (Acts xiii, 48).

11. And as God Himself is most wise, immutable, omniscient and omnipotent, so the Election which He has made can neither be interrupted nor changed nor recalled, nor annulled, and the elect cannot be cast away nor the number of them diminished.

12. The elect are in their own time made certain of this their eternal and immutable Election to salvation, though by steps and in an unequal measure, not by curiously examining the deep and mysterious things of God, but by observing in themselves, with a spiritual joy and holy gladness, the infallible fruits of Election described in the Word of God; such as true faith in Jesus Christ, filial fear of God, sorrow towards God, hunger and thirst after righteousness, etc.

13. From the certainty and inward assurance of this Election, the children of God daily find greater cause for humbling themselves before God, for adoring the depth of His mercies, for purifying themselves; for loving the more ardently on their part Him who has first so loved them, so far are they, because of this doctrine of Election and by meditation on it, from being made more slothful or carnally remiss in keeping the commandments of God. That is what generally

happens by a just judgment of God to those who, either rashly presuming or idly and frowardly chattering of the grace of Election, are unwilling to walk in the ways of the Elect.

14. Now since this doctrine of divine Election, in the most wise counsel of God, has been preached by the Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself and the Apostles under the Old as well as under the New Covenant, and then afterwards committed by writing to the Holy Scriptures ; so it ought to be proclaimed to-day in the Church of God, to which it is specially directed, with a spirit of discretion, in a holy and religious manner, in its own time and place, putting aside all curious inquiry into the ways of the Most High : all for the glory of the holy Name of God and for the living comfort of His people.

15. Moreover, Holy Scripture makes this eternal and free grace of our Election the more distinguished and commendable when it further bears witness that all men are not elected, but that there are some non-elect, or left behind in the Eternal Election of God, whom God, according to His most free, just, irreprehensible good pleasure determined to leave in the common misery into which they had cast themselves by their own fault, and not to give them saving faith nor the grace of Conversion, but having been left in their own ways and under a just judgment, at length to condemn and punish them eternally, not only because of their unbelief, but also for all their other sins, to the manifestation of His justice. And this is the decree of Reprobation, which by no means makes God the author of sin (which cannot be even thought of without blasphemy), but reveals Him as a dreadful, irreprehensible, and just judge and avenger of sin.

16. Those who do not yet feel efficaciously in themselves a living faith in Jesus Christ, or an assured confidence of heart, a peace of conscience, an earnest desire of filial obedience and a glorying in God by Jesus Christ, yet nevertheless use the means by which God has promised to work these things in us, ought not to lose courage

when they hear Reprobation spoken of, nor set themselves among the reprobate ; but they ought to continue earnestly in the use of these means, and to desire ardently the period of a more abundant grace and to expect it in all reverence and humility. Much less should those be terrified by the doctrine of Reprobation who, although they desire to turn to God seriously to please Him alone, and to be delivered from this dead body, yet cannot at present travel as far on the way of faith and piety as they wish, since God, who is merciful, has promised that He will not quench the smoking flax nor break the bruised reed. But this doctrine is justly for a terror for those who, having forgotten God and the Saviour Jesus Christ, have delivered themselves wholly to the cares of this world, and to the lusts of the flesh, so long as they do not turn to God.

17. Seeing that we must judge the will of God by His Word, which testifies that the children of believers are holy, not indeed by nature, but by the benefit of the gracious covenant in which they are included along with their parents ; fathers and mothers who fear God ought not to doubt the Election and Salvation of their children, whom God calls from this life in their infancy.

18. If anyone murmur at this grace of free Election and at the severity of just Retribution, we meet him with this word of the Apostle, " O man, who art thou that repliest against God ? ' (Rom. ix, 20), and that of our Saviour, " Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own ? " (Matt. xx, 15). But as for us, who religiously adore these mysteries, we exclaim with the Apostle, " O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out ! For who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who hath been His counsellor ? Or who hath first given to Him and it shall be recompensed unto him again ? For of Him, and through Him, and to Him, are all things : to whom be glory for ever. Amen " (Rom. xi, 33, 34, 35, 36).

The Synod rejects the errors of those :

1. Who teach " That the will of God to save those who

shall believe and persevere in the faith and obedience of faith, is the whole and entire decree of election to salvation, and that there is nothing else revealed in the Word of God concerning this decree." For they deceive the simple and manifestly contradict the sacred Scripture, which testifies not only that God willeth to save those who shall believe, but also from all eternity He has chosen certain persons, in order that in His own time He may give to them rather than to others faith in Jesus Christ and perseverance, as it is written, "I have manifested Thy name unto the men which Thou gavest Me" (John xvii, 6); also Acts xiii, 48, Eph. i, 4.

2. Who teach "That the Election of God to eternal life is of many kinds: one, general and indefinite; another, special and definite. And this is again either incomplete, revocable, not peremptory or conditional: or else complete, irrevocable, peremptory or absolute." Also, "that one Election is to faith, another to salvation: so that there may be an Election to justifying faith without a peremptory Election to salvation." For this is only an invention of the human brain, fashioned outside the Scriptures, corrupting the doctrine of Election and dissolving this golden chain of our salvation which says, "Whom He did predestinate," etc. (Rom. viii, 30).

3. Who teach "That the good pleasure and purpose of God which the Scripture mentions in the doctrine of Election does not consist in this, that God has chosen certain persons rather than others, but in this, that from among all possible conditions (among which are also the works of the Law) or from the order of all things, God has chosen the act of faith, ignoble of itself, and the imperfect obedience of faith as the condition of salvation, and He has graciously willed to regard this as a perfect obedience and to judge it worthy of being rewarded with eternal life." For by this pernicious error the good pleasure of God and the merit of Jesus Christ are weakened, and men are turned away from the truth of free justification and the simplicity of the Scriptures by unprofitable questions: and this sentence of the Apostle

is charged with falsehood, "God called us with an holy calling, not according to works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before times eternal" (2 Tim. i, 9).

4. Who teach "That in Election to faith, this condition is required beforehand, that man should rightly use the light of nature, that he should be honest, humble and inclined to the life eternal," as if in some way Election depended on these things. For that savours of the opinion of Pelagius and too openly taxes the Apostle with falsehood when he says, "We all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others. But God, who is rich in mercy . . . ," etc., to "not of works, lest any man should boast" (Eph. ii, 3–9).

5. Who teach "That Election of individuals to salvation, incomplete and not peremptory, is made from foreseen faith, conversion and sanctity and piety begun or continued for some time; but that complete and peremptory Election is made from the foreseen final perseverance of faith, conversion, sanctity and piety. And that in this consists that free and evangelical worth, on account of which he who is elected is more worthy than he who is not elected, and therefore faith, the obedience of faith, sanctity, piety and perseverance are not the fruits or effects of immutable Election to glory, but conditions and causes, without which Election cannot exist; which conditions or causes are required and foreseen beforehand, as if they were already performed in those who should be entirely elected." This is opposed to all Scripture, which in many places addresses our ears and hearts with these and similar sayings: "Election is not of works, but of Him that calleth," (Rom. ix, 11), Acts xiii, 48; Eph. i, 4. "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you" (John xv, 16). "If it is of grace, then is it no more of works" (Rom. xi, 6). "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son" (1 John iv, 10).

6. Who teach "That not every Election to salvation

is immutable, but that some of the elect, notwithstanding any decree of God whatever, can perish, and perish everlastingly." By which gross error they make God mutable, destroy the consolation of the faithful concerning the certainty of their election and contradict the Holy Scriptures, which teach that the elect cannot be deceived (Matt. xxiv, 24), that Christ does not lose those who are given to Him by the Father (John vi, 39), that those whom God has predestinated, called, justified, He also glorifies (Rom. viii, 30).

7. Who teach "That in this life there comes not from the immutable Election to glory any fruit, any consciousness, any certainty except such as one can have in a changeable and contingent state." But besides that it is absurd to speak of an uncertain certainty, this is contrary to the experience of the saints, who with the Apostle exult in the consciousness of their election, acknowledging this blessing of God, who with the disciples "rejoice" (following the admonition of Jesus Christ) "because their names are written in heaven" (Luke x, 20). In short, they present their consciousness of Election to the fiery darts of the Devil's temptations, asking, "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect?" (Rom. viii, 33).

8. Who teach "That God has not decreed by His just will alone to leave any in the fall of Adam and in the common state of sin and condemnation, or to pass them by in the communication of the grace necessary to faith and conversion." For that passage stands firm, "He hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth" (Rom. ix, 18). Also, "It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given" (Matt. xiii, 11), and "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes" (Matt. xi, 25, 26).

9. Who teach "That the reason why God sends the Gospel to one nation rather than to another is not the mere will and good pleasure of God, but because one nation is better and more worthy than the other to

which the Gospel is not sent." For Moses contradicts this when he speaks thus to the children of Israel: "Behold, the heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lord's thy God, the earth also with all that therein is. Only the Lord had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and He chose their seed after them, even you above all people, as it is this day" (Deut. x, 14, 15). And Jesus Christ, "Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes" (Matt. xi, 21).

II. The Second Point of Doctrine concerning the Death of Jesus Christ and the Redemption of Men thereby

1. God is not only supremely merciful, but also supremely just. Now His justice requires (as He has revealed Himself in His Word) that our sins committed against His infinite majesty should be punished not only with temporal but eternal sufferings, both in body and soul; which sufferings we cannot escape unless the justice of God be satisfied.

2. Now, as it is not in our power to satisfy it ourselves, nor to deliver ourselves from the wrath of God, God by His measureless mercy has given His only Son as a surety, who has been made sin and a curse on the cross for us, or in our place, to make satisfaction for us.

3. This death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sins, of infinite value and price abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world.

4. And this death is of such value and worth because the Person who suffered it is not only true man and perfectly holy, but is also the only Son of God, of the same eternal and infinite essence with the Father and the Holy Spirit, such as it behoved our Saviour to be: because also His death was accompanied by a consciousness of the wrath and curse of God, which we had merited by our sins.

5. Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is that whoso-

ever believeth in Jesus Christ crucified shall not perish, but have eternal life; which promise ought to be generally announced and proclaimed to all nations and individuals to whom God in His pleasure sends the Gospel, with the command to repent and believe.

6. But because many who are called by the Gospel do not repent nor believe in Jesus Christ, but perish in unbelief, this does not occur from the defect or insufficiency of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ offered in the cross, but by their own fault.

7. But to all who truly believe and are delivered and saved from sins and perdition by the death of Jesus Christ, this blessing comes by the grace of God alone, which He owes to no man, but it has been given them from all eternity in Jesus Christ.

8. For this was the most free counsel and gracious will and intention of God the Father, that the life-giving and saving efficacy of the most precious death of His Son should exert itself in all the elect to give them alone justifying faith and thereby lead them certainly to salvation: that is, God willed that Jesus Christ by the blood of the cross (by which He has confirmed the New Covenant) should efficaciously redeem out of every people, nation and tongue all those and no others who have been elected to salvation from all eternity and given to Him by the Father; that He should give them faith, which along with all the other gifts of the Holy Spirit He has purchased for them by His death, that He should cleanse them by His own blood from all sins, original and actual, committed after as well as before faith; that He should preserve them faithfully to the end, and at length present them glorious before Himself without any spot or blemish.

9. This plan, having proceeded from God's eternal love for the elect, has been powerfully carried out from the beginning of the world to the present time, the gates of hell being opposed to it in vain; and it will also be carried out in the future, so that the elect in their time will be gathered together in one, and there will always be some Church of believers founded on the

blood of Jesus Christ who will constantly love their Saviour, who for her, as the bridegroom for his bride, has given up His soul on the cross. That Church also will persist in serving Him, and will worship Him here and for evermore.

The Synod rejects the errors of those:

1. Who teach "That God the Father has destined His Son to the death of the cross without any certain and definite plan of saving anyone by name, so that the necessity, utility and worth of the benefit obtained by the death of Jesus Christ might remain safe and complete, entire in all its parts, even if the redemption gained had never been actually applied to any individual." For this doctrine is injurious to the wisdom of God the Father, and to the merit of Jesus Christ, and is contrary to Scripture. For our Saviour said, "I lay down My life for the sheep," "and I know them" (John x, 15, 27); and the prophet Isaiah said of the Saviour, "When He shall have offered His soul an offering for sin, He shall see His seed, He shall prolong His days and the good pleasure of the Eternal shall prosper in His hand" (Isa. liii, 10). In short, it also overturns the article of faith by which we believe the Church.

2. Who teach "That the end of the death of Christ was not to ratify in very deed the New Covenant of grace by His blood, but merely that He might acquire for the Father the right of entering into some new covenant with men, whether of grace or works." This is contrary to the Scripture which teaches that Jesus Christ "was made a surety and mediator of a better testament" (Heb. vii, 22). Also that only in the case of death is a testament confirmed (Heb. ix, 15, 17).

3. Who teach "That Jesus Christ by His satisfaction has not merited for anyone with certainty salvation itself and the faith by which this satisfaction of Jesus Christ may be effectually applied to salvation; but that He has only acquired for the Father the power or a plenary will of treating anew with men and of prescribing for them whatever new conditions He willed the accomplishment of which might depend on the

free will of man. Yet it might happen that none or that all might fulfil them." For these think too meanly of the death of Christ, do not acknowledge in any way the principal fruit or benefit gained thereby and recall from hell the error of Pelagius.

4. Who teach "That this New Covenant of grace which God the Father has made with men by the intervention of the death of Jesus Christ does not consist in this, that we are justified before God and saved by faith in so far as faith lays hold of the merit of Jesus Christ; but in this, that since the exaction of the perfect obedience of the Law is abolished, God considers faith itself and the imperfect obedience of faith as a perfect obedience of the Law, and of pure grace esteems it worthy of the reward of eternal life." For they contradict the Scripture, "Being justified freely by His grace, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth for all time to be a propitiation through faith in His blood" (Rom. iii, 23, 24). And they introduce, with the profane Socinus, a new and strange justification of man before God against the general agreement of the whole Church.

5. Who teach "That all men are received into the state of reconciliation and into the grace of the Covenant, so that no one is liable to condemnation or will be condemned because of original sin, but that all are exempt from the guilt of this sin." For this opinion contradicts the Scripture which asserts that we are "by nature the children of wrath" (Eph. ii, 3).

6. Who "make use of the distinction between acquisition and application to instil this opinion into the simple and ignorant, that God for His part has willed to share equally to all men the benefits gained by the death of Jesus Christ. And the fact that some rather than others are made partakers of the remission of sins and eternal life depends on their free will making use of the grace that is offered to all; but this does not depend on the singular gift of mercy working effectually in them that they, rather than others, should make use of this grace." For giving the appearance of making this

distinction in a good sense, they try to make the people drink the deadly poison of Pelagianism.

7. Who teach "That Jesus Christ neither could nor ought to die, nor indeed did He die for those whom God has abundantly loved and chosen for eternal life, for such would then have had no need of the death of Jesus Christ." For they contradict the Apostle saying: "Christ loved me, and gave Himself for me" (Gal. ii, 20)'; "Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died" (Rom. viii, 33, 34), that is, for them. They contradict also our Saviour saying, "I lay down My life for My sheep" (John x, 15). Also, "This is My commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John xv, 12, 13).

III. The Third and Fourth Points of Doctrine concerning the Corruption of Man and the Method of his Conversion to God

1. Man from the beginning was created in the image of God, adorned in His understanding with the true and saving knowledge of his Creator and spiritual things, with righteousness in his will and heart, purity in all his affections, indeed he was altogether holy. But revolting from God by the instigation of the Devil and his own free will, he deprived himself of these excellent gifts, and on the contrary in their place drew upon himself blindness, horrible darkness, vanity and perversity of judgment in his understanding, malice, rebellion and stubbornness in will and heart, and at the same time impurity in all his affections.

2. Now such as man was after the Fall, such children has he begotten: namely, being corrupted, corrupted children: corruption by the just judgment of God, being derived from Adam on all his posterity, except Jesus Christ alone: not by imitation (as the Pelagians formerly would have it) but by propagation of a corrupt nature.

3. Therefore all men are conceived in sin and born children of wrath, indisposed to all saving good, inclined to evil, dead in sin and slaves of sin. And without the grace of the regenerating Spirit they are neither willing nor able to return to God, nor to correct their depraved nature, nor to set themselves to the improvement of it.

4. It is true that since the Fall there remains in man some light of nature by the help of which he still retains some knowledge of God and natural things, discerns between what is honourable and dishonourable, and displays some desire and endeavour after virtue and external discipline. But so far from his being capable by this light of nature of coming to the saving knowledge of God and turning to Him, he does not even use it rightly in natural and civil things, but rather whatever thing it is, he contaminates it all in various ways and holds it in unrighteousness, and in doing this he is rendered inexcusable before God.

5. The same is true of the Decalogue which God specially gave to the Jews as of the light of nature. For it indeed reveals the magnitude of sin and convicts man more and more of guilt; but, since it does not give the remedy nor provide any means of escaping misery, and so is weak in the flesh, it leaves the sinner under the curse and man cannot through it obtain saving grace.

6. What therefore neither the light of nature nor the Law could do, God brings to pass through the power of the Holy Spirit by means of the word or the ministry of reconciliation, namely, the Gospel concerning the Messiah by which it hath pleased God to save believers, as well under the Old as under the New Covenant.

7. God has revealed this secret of His will to fewer persons under the Old Covenant, but since the distinction between nations has been taken away under the New Covenant, He reveals it to more. The cause of this dispensation ought not to be attributed to the worth of one nation above another or to the better use of the light of nature, but to the most free good-will of God and to His abounding love. Therefore they to whom so great grace is given, beyond and contrary to

all merit, ought to recognize it with a humble and thankful heart. But others, to whom this grace is not given, ought with the Apostle to adore the severity and justice of God's judgments, but not to inspect them with curiosity.

8. Now all who are called by the Gospel are called in good earnest. For God reveals by His Word earnestly and most truly what is pleasing to Him ; namely, that they who are called should come to Him. Also He earnestly promises to all who come and believe in Him rest to their souls and eternal life.

9. As to the fact that many called by the ministry of the Gospel do not come, and are not converted, the fault is not in the Gospel, nor in Jesus Christ offered by the Gospel, nor in God who calls them by the Gospel, and even confers various gifts on them, but in the people themselves who are called, of whom some by their indifference do not receive the word of life ; others indeed receive it but not into their heart, so that they turn back after the slight joy of a temporary faith ; and others choke the seed of the word by the thorns of the cares and pleasures of this world and bring forth no fruit, as our Saviour teaches us in the parable of the Sower (Matt. xiii).

10. But that others called by the ministry of the Gospel do come and are converted ought not to be attributed to man as if he differentiated himself by his free will from others furnished with equal or sufficient grace for faith and conversion (which the proud heresy of Pelagius maintains), but ought to be attributed to God who, as He has chosen His own from all eternity in Christ, also calls them effectually in their time, gives them faith and repentance, and having delivered them from the power of darkness, translates them into the Kingdom of His Son, that they may show forth the powers of Him who has called them from darkness into His marvellous light, and that they should not glory in themselves but in the Saviour, as the apostolic Scripture testifies in several places.

11. But when God works out His good pleasure in

the elect, or when He converts them, He does not merely provide that the Gospel should be outwardly preached, and that their mind should be powerfully enlightened by the Holy Spirit that they may rightly understand and judge what are the things of the Spirit of God; but by the efficacy of the same Spirit of regeneration He penetrates to man's depths, opens the closed heart, softens the hard heart, circumcises the foreskin of the heart, develops new qualities in the will, and makes what was dead become alive, the bad good, the unwilling willing, the obstinate obedient, and labours in the will and strengthens it that as a good tree it may bring forth good fruit.

12. This is that regeneration so much spoken of in the Scriptures, that renewing, that new creation, resurrection from the dead and giving of life which God without us worketh in us. Now this is by no means effected by the doctrine alone sounding without, or moral suasion, or by persuasive arguments or by such other mode of working that after God hath done His part, it should remain in the power of man to be regenerated or not, to be converted or not; but it is an operation entirely supernatural, very effectual, and at the same time very sweet, wonderful, secret and ineffable, which, according to the Scripture (which is inspired by the author of this operation), in its power it is not inferior to creation or the resurrection of the dead. So that all those in whose hearts God works in this wonderful way are certainly, infallibly and effectively regenerated and do really believe. And then the will, being now renewed, is not only moved and acted on by God, but being moved by God, itself works also. Therefore one can truly say that man himself believes and repents, by means of the grace which he has received.

13. Believers cannot in this life fully comprehend the manner of this operation; yet they are at peace because they know and feel that by this grace of God they believe in their heart and love their Saviour.

14. So then faith is a gift of God, not because it is

offered by God to the free will of man, but because in reality it is conferred on, inspired and infused into man. Not that God gives only the power of believing and then afterwards waits for the consent of man's will or the act of believing; but that He who worketh in him both to will and to do, indeed who worketh all in all, produces in man both the will to believe and belief itself.

15. God does not owe this grace to anyone. For what can He owe to him who can give nothing first that He may be rewarded? Nay, what can He owe to him who has nothing of his own but sin and a lie? He then who receives this grace ought for ever to return thanks to God, and does indeed do so. He who does not receive it either does not care at all for those spiritual things, and is satisfied with what is his, or being without care he vainly boasts of having what he does not possess. Now as for those who outwardly profess faith and amend their lives, it is best for us to judge and speak only well after the example of the Apostles, for the inner recesses of the heart are unknown to us. As for those who have not yet been called, we must pray to God, who calls the things that are not as though they were, and we must not show pride toward them as if we had made ourselves to differ.

16. Now, since by the Fall man does not cease to be man, endowed with mind and will; and the sin which is spread over the whole human race has not destroyed the nature of the human race, but depraved it and killed it spiritually, so this divine grace of regeneration does not work in man as in trunks and stumps of trees, does not take away the will and its properties or violently constrain it when unwilling, but it spiritually quickens it, heals it, corrects and bends it, not less gently than powerfully, so that where before it was wholly governed by the rebellion and resistance of the flesh, now begins to reign the prompt and sincere obedience of the spirit in which the true and spiritual restoration and the freedom of our will really consist. And if the wonderful artisan of all good did not work in us in this manner, there would remain no other hope for man of delivering

himself from the Fall by free will, by which, when standing, he fell into ruin.

17. As also this omnipotent operation of God, whereby He produces and sustains this our eternal life, does not exclude but requires the use of means by which God, according to His wisdom and infinite goodness, has seen fit to display this power of His, so this supernatural operation of God, by which He regenerates us, does not exclude nor set aside the use of the Gospel which God the all-wise has ordained to be the seed of regeneration and the food of the soul. Wherefore, as the Apostles and those teachers who followed them have piously taught the people concerning this grace of God, to His glory and the abasement of all pride; at the same time they have not neglected to keep them by the sacred admonitions of the Gospel under the exercise of the word, the sacraments and discipline: so then far be it from teachers and hearers in the Church to presume to tempt God by separating the things which God in His good pleasure has willed to be closely bound together. For grace is conferred through admonitions, and the more promptly we do our duty the more illustrious is the help of God working in us and then His work proceeds best. To which God all the glory both of the means and of their fruit and saving efficacy is due for ever and ever. Amen.

The Synod rejects the errors of those:

1. Who teach "That it cannot properly be said that original sin is sufficient of itself to condemn the whole human race or to merit temporal and eternal punishment." For they contradict the Apostle, saying: "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned" (Rom. v, 12). And verse 16: "The guilt is of one offence unto condemnation." Also, "The wages of sin is death" (Rom. vi, 23).

2. Who teach "That spiritual gifts, or good habits and virtues such as kindness, holiness, righteousness could have no place in the will of man when he was first created, and consequently they could not be separated

from it in the Fall." For this opposes the description of the image of God which the Apostle gives in Eph. iv, 4, where he describes it by righteousness and holiness, which virtues certainly have their seat in the will.

3. Who teach "That spiritual gifts have not been separated from the will of man in spiritual death, since the will never was corrupted in itself, but only hindered by the darkness of the mind and the confusion of the affections; and if these hindrances are removed the will can exert the freedom that is natural to it, that is, it might of itself will or choose or not will and not choose, whatever good was proposed to it. This is new and erroneous, only tending to exalt the power of free will against the words of the Prophet, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked" (Jer. xvii, 9). And the Apostle, "Among whom" (children of rebellion) "we all had our conversation in times past in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind" (Eph. ii, 3).

4. Who teach "That unregenerate man is not totally nor properly in sin, or destitute of all power, but he can hunger and thirst after righteousness and life and offer to God the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, which is acceptable to God." For these things are contrary to the manifest witness of Scripture: "Ye were dead in trespasses and sins" (Eph. ii, 1–5); and "every imagination of the thought of man's heart was only evil continually" (Gen. vi, 5 and viii, 21). Moreover, to have hunger and thirst for life and to be delivered from misery and to offer to God the sacrifice of a broken spirit is the property of the regenerate (Ps. li, 17) and of those who are called blessed (Matt. v, 6).

5. Who teach "That man corrupt and animal can use the common grace (by which they mean the light of nature) so well, or the gifts that remain after the Fall, that by this good use he may gradually and by degrees obtain greater grace, namely, evangelical or saving grace and salvation itself. And by this means, God on His part shows Himself ready to reveal Jesus Christ to all, seeing that He administers to all, sufficiently and effec-

tively, the necessary means for the revelation of Jesus Christ, faith and repentance." That this is false, apart from the experience of all time, Scripture bears witness: "He sheweth His word unto Jacob, His statutes and His judgments unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation; and as for His judgments, they have not known them" (Ps. cxlvii, 19, 20). God in times past "suffered all nations to walk in their own ways" (Acts xiv, 16). "They were forbidden of the Holy Ghost" (that is, Paul and his companions) "to preach the word in Asia. After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not" (Acts xvi, 6, 7).

6. Who teach "That in the true conversion of man, it cannot be that God should infuse into his will new qualities, habits or gifts, and so faith, by which we are first converted and from which we are called the faithful, is not a quality or gift infused by God, but only an act of man and that it cannot otherwise be called a gift than with regard to the power of man to attain it." For these things contradict the Holy Scriptures, which testify that God produces in our hearts new qualities of faith, obedience and a sense of His love: "I will put My law in their inward parts and write it in their hearts" (Jer. xxxi, 33). "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour My spirit upon thy seed" (Isa. xliv, 3). "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us" (Rom. v, 5). They also contradict the constant practice of the Church, praying—"Turn Thou me and I shall be turned" (Jer. xxxi, 18).

7. Who teach "That the grace by which we are converted to God is nothing else than a gentle suasion, or rather (as others put it) that the most noble method of acting in the conversion of man and the most suitable to human nature is that which is done by suasions. And that nothing hinders that the grace which they call moral, that is to say, which acts by persuasive arguments, should make animal man spiritual: indeed God does not otherwise secure the consent of the will than by

this method of suasion, and the efficacy of the divine operation consists in this, by which He overcomes the operation of Satan, that God promises eternal benefits and Satan temporal ones." For this is altogether Pelagian and contrary to all Scripture, which recognizes another method of working for the conversion of man, namely, that of the Holy Spirit, much more effectual and divine. "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart . . . and will give you an heart of flesh" (Ezek. xxxvi, 26).

8. Who teach "That in the regeneration of man God does not use those powers of His omnipotence by which He may bend powerfully and infallibly his will to faith and conversion, but all the operations of grace which God uses to convert man having been employed, man can still resist God and the Holy Spirit even when God proposes and wills to regenerate him, and indeed man often so resists as to entirely hinder his own regeneration. So it remains in his own power whether he be regenerated or not." For this is nothing else than taking away from God all the efficacy of His grace in our conversion and subjecting the action of Almighty God to the will of man, against the Apostles, who say: "We believe, according to the working of His mighty power" (Eph. i, 19). "That God fulfils in us all the good pleasure of His goodness, and the work of faith with power" (2 Thess. i, 11). Also that "His divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness" (2 Pet. i, 3).

9. Who teach "That grace and free will are causes that meet at the beginning of conversion, and that grace in the order of causality does not precede the operation or movement of the will; that is to say, that God does not effectually help the will of man to conversion before the will of man moves and determines itself." For the ancient Church long ago condemned this doctrine in the Pelagians from the Apostle: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy" (Rom. ix, 16). "Who maketh

thee to differ from another? And what hast thou that thou didst not receive?" (1 Cor. iv, 7). Also, "For it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure" (Phil. ii, 13).

The Fifth Point of Doctrine concerning the Perseverance of the Saints

1. Those whom God calls according to His purpose to the communion of His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and regenerates by His Holy Spirit, He indeed sets free from the domination and slavery of sin, but not entirely from the flesh and body of sin in this life.

2. Hence it happens that we see daily so many sins of infirmity and the best works of the saints are not without blemish. This provides them continually with reasons for humbling themselves before God, for having recourse to Jesus Christ crucified, of mortifying more and more the flesh by the spirit of prayers and by the holy exercises of piety and of panting after the goal of perfection, until the time when, delivered from this body of sin, they reign in heaven with the Lamb of God.

3. Because of these remains of sin dwelling in us, and of the temptations of the world and of Satan, those who are converted could not continue in this grace if they were left to their own strength. But God is faithful, who mercifully confirms them in the grace which He has once conferred upon them, and powerfully maintains them to the end.

4. Now because the power of God strengthening and confirming the truly faithful is too great to be overcome by the flesh, yet the converted are not always led and moved by God so that they cannot by their faults in certain particular actions depart from the conduct of grace and be led away by the desires of the flesh to obey them. Wherefore they must always watch and pray that they be not led into temptations, for if they do not they may not only be carried away by the world, the flesh and the devil, to grievous and atrocious sins, but also they are sometimes carried away by a just permission

of God, which the sad falls of David, Peter and other holy persons mentioned in Scripture demonstrate.

5. But by such sins they offend God grievously, make themselves liable to death, grieve the Holy Spirit, interrupt the exercises of faith, wound conscience most grievously, lose sometimes the consciousness of grace for a time until the paternal face of God shines on them again when by a serious repentance they return to the good way.

6. For God, who is rich in mercy, according to His immutable purpose of Election, does not altogether take away the Holy Spirit from His own, even in lamentable falls, and does not allow them to fall so far as to lose the grace of adoption and the state of justification, or commit the sin unto death, or against the Holy Spirit, and that, being altogether deserted by Him, they should cast themselves down to eternal perdition.

7. For in these falls God preserves, in the first place, in them His immortal seed by which they are regenerated lest it should perish or be altogether rejected. Then He truly and effectually renews them by His Word and by His Spirit, that they may repent and become contrite of heart with a godly sorrow for their sins, that with a broken and contrite heart they may seek and obtain forgiveness in the blood of the Mediator by faith, that they may feel anew the grace of God reconciled, that they may adore His mercies and faithfulness, and may in the future more earnestly work out their salvation with fear and trembling.

8. So that it is not by their own merits or strength, but by the free mercy of God that they are secure against the complete loss of faith and grace, and do not continue in their falls and finally perish. This indeed might happen easily so far as they are concerned, but so far as God is concerned it could never happen, for His plans cannot change nor His promise fail, nor their call according to the decree be revoked, nor the merit, intercession and guardianship of Jesus Christ be made void, nor the sealing of the Holy Spirit be made vain or blotted out.

9. Of this guardianship of the elect to salvation and perseverance of true believers in the faith believers themselves may and do become certain, according to the measure of faith, by which they certainly believe that they are and will remain always true and living members of the Church, and that they have the forgiveness of all their sins and eternal life.

10. And yet this assurance does not arise from any special revelation made beyond or without the word, but proceeds from faith in the promises of God, which He has abundantly revealed in His Word for our consolation; and from the witness of the Holy Spirit, which bears witness with our spirit that we are children of God and heirs (Rom. viii, 16, 17). Finally, from an earnest and holy pursuit of a good conscience and good works. And if the elect of God should be deprived in this world of this solid consolation that they would obtain the victory, and of this infallible earnest of eternal glory, they would be of all men most miserable.

11. Still, the Scripture testifies that in this life the faithful have to struggle against various carnal doubts, and when they are moved by sore temptations do not always feel this full consolation of faith and assurance of perseverance. But God, the Father of all consolation, does not suffer them to be tempted above that they are able, but with the temptation also makes a way of escape, that they may be able to bear it (1 Cor. x, 13), and by the Holy Spirit arouses anew in them the assurance of perseverance.

12. Now so far is this assurance of perseverance from making true believers vainglorious and plunging them into a carnal self-confidence, that it is rather the true root of humility, of filial reverence, true piety, patience in every struggle, earnest prayers, constancy in the Cross and in the confession of the truth and of solid joy in God; so that the consideration of this blessing is a spur to them to a serious and continual exercise of gratitude and good works, as appears by the testimonies of the Scriptures and the examples of the saints.

13. So when the assurance of perseverance begins to

revive in those who are reinstated after a fall, that does not produce in them a slackness or indifference to piety, but a much greater care in diligently keeping in the ways of the Lord which are prepared for them, so that by walking in them they may keep the assurance of their perseverance, lest by abusing His fatherly goodness the face of the merciful God (the contemplation of which is more sweet to believers than life, and the withdrawal of it more bitter than death) should again be turned away from them, and so they should fall into greater torments of soul.

14. And as it hath pleased God by His grace to begin this His work in us by the preaching of the Gospel, so He preserves, continues and completes it by the hearing, reading, exhortations, threatenings, promises of the same Gospel, and also by the use of the Sacraments.

15. This doctrine of the perseverance of true believers and saints, and of its assurance, which God has most abundantly revealed in His word to the glory of His name and to the consolation of pious souls, and which He impresses on the hearts of believers, is such teaching as the flesh indeed does not understand, Satan hates, the world derides, and the ignorant and hypocrites abuse, and the spirits of error oppose. But the spouse of Jesus Christ has always loved it most tenderly, and constantly maintained it as a treasure of inestimable worth; and God also will take care that she will continue to do so. Against Him neither can any counsel succeed nor any strength prevail. To whom, the only God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The Synod rejects the errors of those:

1. Who teach "That the perseverance of true believers is not the effect of Election or a gift of God obtained by the death of Jesus Christ, but a condition of the New Covenant which man should carry out before his election and his peremptory justification [as they call it] by his own free will." For the Holy Scripture testifies that it follows Election, and that it is given to the elect in virtue of the death, resurrection and intercession of

Jesus Christ. "The election hath obtained it, and the rest were hardened" (Rom. xi, 7). Also, "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things? Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea, rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?" (Rom. viii, 32, 33, 34, 35).

2. Who teach "That God indeed provides the believer with sufficient strength to persevere, and is ready to maintain it in him if he does his duty. Nevertheless, when all things being provided that are necessary to persevere in the faith and which God willeth to use to preserve it, it always depends on the freedom of man's will whether he perseveres or not." For this opinion contains a manifest Pelagianism, and wishing to make men free makes them irreverent, contrary to the unbroken agreement of the doctrine of the Gospel, which deprives man of all ground of boastfulness and ascribes to divine grace alone the praise of this blessing. And is opposed to the Apostle, who declares that it is God "who shall also confirm us unto the end, that we may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. i, 8).

3. Who teach "That true believers and regenerate persons may not only fall completely and finally from justifying faith, and also from grace and salvation, but even that they do often so fall and perish eternally." For this opinion makes void not only the grace of justification and regeneration, but also the perpetual guardian care of Jesus Christ. It denies the express words of the Apostle St. Paul: "If, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us, much more being now justified by His blood, shall we be saved from wrath through Him" (Rom. v, 8, 9); and the Apostle St. John: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for His seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God" (1 John iii, 9). Also it denies the words of Jesus Christ: "And I give unto them eternal

life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of My hand. My Father, which gave them Me, is greater than all; and no man is able to pluck them out of My Father's hand" (John x, 28, 29).

4. Who teach "That true believers and regenerate persons may sin the sin unto death, or the sin against the Holy Spirit." For the Apostle St. John, in the fifth chapter of his first Epistle, after having mentioned in verse 16 those who sin unto death, and forbidden to pray for them, immediately adds in verse 18, "We know that whatsoever is born of God sinneth not" (that is, in that kind of sin), "but he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not."

5. Who teach "That in this life one cannot have any assurance of future perseverance without a special revelation." For by this doctrine believers are robbed of the most sure consolation that they can have in this life, and are put back under the uncertainty and vague opinions of the Romish Church. But the Holy Scripture everywhere requires this assurance, not from a special and extraordinary revelation, but from the peculiar marks of the children of God and from His sure promises. Especially the Apostle St. Paul: "No creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. viii, 39), and "he that keepeth His commandments dwelleth in Him, and He in him. And hereby we know that He abideth in us, by the Spirit which He hath given us" (1 John iii, 24).

6. Who teach "That the doctrine of the assurance of perseverance and salvation is of its essence a pillow for the flesh, and injurious to good piety, good conduct, prayers and other holy exercises; but that, on the contrary, to doubt concerning it is praiseworthy." For these people show that they ignore the efficacy of divine grace and the operation of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the elect, and they contradict the Apostle St. John, who affirms the very opposite in express words: "Beloved, now are we the Sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when He shall appear, we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as

He is" (1 John iii, 2). Moreover, they are confuted by the example of the saints of the Old as well as of the New Testament, who, though they were certain of their own perseverance and salvation, did not cease to be earnest in prayer and other exercises of piety.

7. Who teach "That there is no difference between temporary faith and that which justifies and saves except in duration alone." For Jesus Christ Himself (Matt. xiii, 20 ff., and Luke viii, 13 ff.) clearly points out a threefold difference between those who believe for a time and true believers when He says these receive the seed in stony ground, but those in a good ground, or in a good heart; these have no root, but those have a firm root, and these bear no fruit, but those produce their fruit constantly in differing measures.

8. Who teach "That it is not absurd that when the first regeneration is extinguished that a man should again be born again, or indeed frequently." For by this doctrine they deny the incorruptibility of the seed of God by which we are regenerated, and contradict the witness of the Apostle St. Peter: "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible" (1 Pet. i, 23).

9. Who teach "That Jesus Christ has in no place prayed for the infallible perseverance of believers in the faith." For they contradict Jesus Christ Himself, saying, "I have prayed for thee" (Peter) "that thy faith fail not" (Luke xxii, 32), and the Evangelist St. John, testifying that Jesus Christ did not only pray for the Apostles, but also for all those who should believe by their word: "Holy Father, keep them through Thine own name" (John xvii, 11, 20), and "I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil" (John xvii, 15).

This is the clear and straightforward declaration of the orthodox doctrine concerning the Five Articles debated in the Netherlands, together with the rejection of errors by which the Churches of the Netherlands have been disturbed for some time. The Synod considers it to be taken from the Word of God, and in conformity with

the Confessions of the Reformed Churches. Whence it clearly appears that they, to whom it by no means appertained, acted against all truth, equity and charity when they desired the people to believe "That the doctrine of the Reformed Churches concerning Predestination, and the subjects connected with it, by its very nature turns the hearts of men from all piety and religion; that it is the pillow of the flesh and of the Devil; that it is the fortress of Satan, whence he prepares his ambushes for all, wounds very many and pierces many through mortally by his darts either of despair or carnal security; that the same doctrine makes God the author of sin, unjust, a tyrant, a hypocrite; and it is only Stoicism, Manicheism, Libertinism, Turkism patched up; that this same doctrine makes men self-confident in the flesh, since they persuade themselves by it that whatever life they lead nothing can harm the salvation of the elect, and therefore they may without fear boldly commit the most outrageous crimes; that, if the reprobate should have truly performed all the works of the saints, nothing can help towards their salvation; that by the same doctrine it is taught that God, by the single and mere pleasure of His will, without any respect or regard to any sin, has predestined and created for eternal condemnation the majority of mankind; that in the same manner that Election is the foundation and cause of faith and good works, so Reprobation is the cause of unbelief and impiety; that many little innocent children of believers are torn away from the breasts of their mothers and tyrannically thrust down into hell, so that neither the blood of Jesus Christ, nor baptism, nor the prayers of the Church made at their baptism profit them at all"; and many similar absurdities which the Reformed Churches not only do not acknowledge, but even detest with all their heart.

Wherefore this Synod of Dordrecht adjures and requires, in the name of the Lord, all those who reverently call on the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ that they would judge of the faith and doctrine of the Reformed Churches, not by calumnies gathered from many quarters,

nor by the particular utterances of individual teachers, ancient and modern, quoted often enough in bad faith or corrupted and wrested into another meaning, but by the public confessions of the Churches themselves, and by this present declaration of the orthodox doctrine, confirmed by the general consent of all and by each of the members of the Synod.

And then the Synod earnestly admonishes the calumniators themselves earnestly to consider how heavy a judgment of God they may have to suffer who bear false witness against so many Churches, and also against so many Confessions of the Churches; who disturb the consciences of the weak, and labour to make many suspect the fellowship of true believers.

Finally, the Synod exhorts all fellow-labourers in the Gospel of Jesus Christ that, in treating this doctrine in the Schools and Churches, they should walk piously and religiously, and both in speech and writing they should use and apply it to the glory of the name of God and to holiness of life and the consolation of troubled souls; that they should not only think but speak with Scripture according to the analogy of faith; in short, that they should abstain from all those ways of speaking which exceed the prescribed limits of the plain sense of the Holy Scriptures; for this might give a fair opportunity to arrogant and perverse Sophists to slander or even calumniate the doctrine of the Reformed Churches.

May the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, bestow gifts on men, sanctify us in the truth, lead back to the way those who have gone astray, stop the mouths of those who calumniate sound doctrine and give the spirit of discretion to the faithful ministers of His Word, that all their plans may tend to the glory of God and the building up of them that hear. Amen.

Such is the classical statement of seventeenth-century Calvinism. It lacks the nervous precision of the *Institutes*, and it is not so comprehensive as the *Westminster Confession*; but with all its cumbersome repetitions and

complicated sentences, it represents the religion of the Protestantism that counted at that time. Its confident use of the great passages of Scripture, which are so interwoven into this declaration as to be inseparable from it, is the measure of the strength of Calvinism. The secular historian grows weary of these theological wranglings, but he cannot do justice to this period unless he appreciates this background. Whatever solidity there was in the Huguenot party, whatever dour national independence there was in Scotland and the Netherlands, whatever invincibility was to be found later in the Ironsides of the Eastern Counties, found its soul in this Gospel of Calvinism. When Cromwell saw the mists break over the hills of Dunbar, he hailed the sunburst with the cry of David: "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shalt Thou drive them away!"[1] It was ever so to the elect. "If God be for us, who can be against us?" It was the secret of their victories on the field of war and on the field of theology. As the Synod had settled the dispositions of the troops, the chief business that remained was to scatter the adversaries.

Wednesday, April 24th, was spent in framing the sentence on the Remonstrants. Pastors, teachers and magistrates were called upon to drive away their errors from Churches, schools and social life. The cited ministers were expelled from the ministry and any office they might hold in the State. The Provincial Synods, Classes and Consistories were called on to continue this good work of purification in the case of other suspected persons, while by gentler methods they should endeavour to bring the less obstinate offenders back to the highway of truth. While the declaration on doctrine was signed by each member of the Synod, this sentence of deprivation on the Remonstrants only bears the signature of the ecclesiastical and lay secretaries. This was due to the fact that some of the foreigners declined to have any voice in condemning the subjects of another State. In this the English led the way, as they did in requesting

[1] Green, *History of the English People*, chap. viii, sec. i.

that the doctrinal statement should refer to *our* Reformed Churches rather than to *the* Reformed Churches. They had instructions from their King to commit themselves to no statements which would create friction with the Lutherans.[1]

As if to give the Synod confidence after it had passed its resolution for the expulsion of the Remonstrants, the confessions of faith of two brothers named Geesteranus, ministers at Alkmaar and Egmond respectively, who had just been suspended by their Classes, were read. They were Arminians, but also cherished some peculiar notions of their own and seem to have been under Anabaptist influence. They disbelieved in the Eternal Generation of the Son of God, doubted the Deity of the Holy Ghost, and appear to have been pacifists who had a complete belief in non-resistance.[2] Their case was already decided, but another individual who went beyond the normal limits of Arminian heresy remained for the judgment of the Synod. This was the unfortunate Vorstius, who had been eating his heart out for years at Gouda, writing new explanations of his own peculiar views in *De Deo*, new refutations of his enemies, but doing little to improve his position in the opinion of the Churches of the Netherlands. His Remonstrant friends stood loyally by him, though he had been a heavy addition to their load of responsibility. He wrote appealing letters to old friends who were members of the Synod, but there was never any doubt about his condemnation. His plea for a hearing by the Synod itself came a day too late. "It is not fair," he said, "that any man should be judged by a majority of voices, in matters of divinity, especially if collected from books and writings; for as they are both deaf and dumb, they cannot explain themselves further than the import of their letters and syllables, much less can they reply to objections; and such proceedings are yet less fair, when the author himself appears and declares himself equally

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 282.

[2] For interesting details of these men see Brandt, III, 182–98 and 283.

ready either to convince or be convinced." [1] On May 4th it was decided that he was unworthy of the office or title of an orthodox professor of the Reformed Church, and the States-General was requested to suppress his publications.

It was otherwise with Maccovius,[2] a Franeker theological professor, who made a petition to the Synod because he had been accused of heresy before the States of Friesland by his colleague Sibrandus Lubbertus. His heresy appears to have been an extravagant expression of Calvinism which did not hesitate to accept the deductions which the Arminians were delighted to draw from the eternal decrees, to the effect that in a world of rigid necessity ordained by the Most High, God was Himself the author of sin. This occasioned some little difficulty, and was sent down to a committee. The official record states that when it finally came before the Synod on May 4th "the Frisian question was examined in detail and amicably settled." It is not stated there that Maccovius was cleared of the charge of heresy, but advised to keep more closely to scriptural phraseology, and to avoid crude expressions which were liable to trouble the untrained mind.

These later sessions were also favoured with a long examination of the Five Articles by du Moulin from Paris. The French King had been unwilling for any Huguenot preachers to come to Dort, but he could not prevent Diodati of Geneva from reading a typical statement there of the belief of that Church from its leading preacher. It came too late to influence the Synod's doctrinal statement, but was received with respectful attention, and was sufficiently vigorous and argumentative to deserve it. At the same time it added nothing to what had been said already.

[1] *Epist. Præst. Vir.*, No. 352.

[2] John Makowski (1588–1644). At his funeral his colleague Cocceius said of him that "he was one of those dogs not afraid of barking, but he barked at members of the family as well as strangers." For his case at Dort see Balcanqual in Hales, *Letters* (1660); Heylin, *Historia Quinquarticularis*, III, 56, 66, 67.

The business for which the Synod was to have been called originally remained to the end: that is, the revision of the *Catechism* and the *Confession*. The States-General had received with thankfulness the report that a statement of doctrine had been drawn up with unanimity, and thanked the members for their labours; at the same time they were urged to proceed rapidly with this new duty of revision and to avoid the 31st and 32nd Articles of the *Confession*, since there were differences of ecclesiastical government represented in the Synod. This injunction was strictly obeyed, for no more than a day was spent over the reports of the various colleges on the *Confession*, and about four hours on the *Catechism*. The theologians from the Palatinate had come with the intention of seeing that their *Heidelberg Catechism* was preserved intact, and they had their wish, for nothing was found in it that could be amended. There were many variations in the different editions of the *Belgic Confession* in circulation, but it was resolved to follow the Latin version which was found in a 1612 edition of the *Harmonia Confessionum*.[1] There was general agreement as to the orthodoxy, purity and simplicity of this document, but after the foreigners had left a committee of five was appointed to make a few small alterations, and by comparison of the Latin, French and Dutch versions to bring them all into agreement.[2] Article 31 declared that the ministers, elders and deacons ought to be elected by the regular choice of the Church, and that there were no gradations of authority in the ministry, for all were ministers under Christ, the only Universal Bishop. The pressure of the Anglican Episcopalians made necessary the order of the States-General that the articles on Church Government should not be discussed. The Bishop of Llandaff, however, seized the opportunity of bearing witness to the value of episcopal authority in times of disturbance and challenged the statement that Christ instituted an equality among the ministers of the Gospel. There

[1] Vinke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Reformatæ Nederlandicæ*, Pref., p. 34.
[2] Vinke, Pref., p. 35.

was no discussion, for in that case another Synod might have been necessary.[1] It is interesting to see, however, that the representatives of the English Church were whole-heartedly at one with their brethren of the reformed communities not only on the tenets of Calvinism, but on the doctrine of the sacraments and all other main points in theology.

Nothing now remained before the departure of the foreign theologians save the solemn promulgation of the canons to the people, which took place on May 6th. The Synod met for its 153rd session, which was opened as usual with prayer, but almost immediately broken up in order to set out in ordered procession, two and two, for the Great Church. At the town hall the procession was joined by the magistrates, who followed to their appointed places in the church, now crowded to its utmost capacity. The Synod occupied the choir and President Bogerman mounted the pulpit and gave utterance to a Latin prayer of half an hour's duration. Then followed the reading of the Canons by Dammanus and Festus Hommius. The declaration was a very long one, the atmosphere was oppressive, and it was necessary for the two secretaries to come to each other's rescue when energy began to flag or the voice to lose its resilience. The only relief that occurred in this examination of the Five Articles was an interval during which a collection for the poor was taken up by the deacons of the Churches of Dort. At the close of the statement the name of each member of the Synod was read out as having signed the statement, and as each name was heard, the member concerned showed his concurrence by raising his hat. Then followed the reading of the sentence on the Remonstrants and a closing address by the President, in which he declared that the *Catechism* and *Confession* had been unanimously approved, and called on the people to return thanks to God for the manifest signs of His

[1] Carleton (Geo.), (Bp. of Llandaff, later Chichester), *Examination of Late Appeal* (1626), pp. 111, 112. He says the Synod made no answer to his argument; "whereupon we conceived that they yielded to the truth of the protestation."

blessing. Turning to prayer, he remembered in his intercessions the Church, Prince Maurice, the States-General, the magistrates of Dort, King James I, and all other princes, governors and magistrates who had sent representatives to the Synod. The organs played, the crowds poured out, the procession was reformed, and took its way back to the Synod house, where the members were informed that each College should receive an authentic copy of the findings that afternoon. In the evening the Remonstrants were called to the lay commissioners to hear their sentence. They were still forbidden to leave the town, and were refused a copy of the Synod's decree. They maintained their resolute attitude, declaring that they had been placed in the ministry by the Lord Jesus and had been removed by an unlawful Synod without the consent of the people.

Another session was held early next morning, at which complimentary and valedictory speeches were made. At the end there was a general shaking of hands, and all proceeded to a great dinner, which was enlivened by vocal and instrumental music. It was Ascension Day, and the note of triumph was in the air ; moreover, spring had returned after all the rigours of a most severe winter. Although the devotional spirit proper to the day was somewhat repressed by these secular festivities, the elation of the members was very natural, for they believed that their findings were marked by such wisdom that only a divine origin could explain. Their sense of satisfaction was increased on the following day, when all the foreign delegates received a valuable gold medal and chain as a memorial of the Synod, their expenses for their stay in Holland and liberal allowances for their journeys to and from the Synod. Some of them were present four days later at the execution of Barnevelt at the Hague, and they must have regarded that as a signal justification of their proceedings. "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered."

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

So the Protestantism of the United Provinces, which had done so much in unity of purpose with heroic endeavour to help in the establishment of a new nation, was now irrevocably split in twain. Before the Synod was over (March 5th and 6th, 1619) about ten Remonstrant preachers under the lead of Grevinchoven met at Rotterdam and decided to separate from the State Church.[1] Schism was now inevitable, but the organization of the new Remonstrant community had to be arranged in exile at a later date and Wtenbogaert continued to be the real leader of the separatists. Their history during the succeeding years has many parallels with that of the English Nonconformists under the Restoration, with an even more virulent persecution and an equally unsuccessful attempt at complete suppression. It begins with wholesale expulsions from the ministry, and goes on to repressive legislation after the manner of the Clarendon Code, and ends with toleration which did not come so speedily after the death of Maurice as the Toleration Act in England followed the flight of James II. The irony of the situation lay in the fact that while Remonstrant preachers were being hunted down in Holland, the English Puritans regarded that country as a harbour of refuge from the persecutions of James I. In these very months Carleton was writing letter after letter to his home government, endeavouring to suppress Brownist publications, and even to arrest objectionable men like Brewer and Brewster and send them to England for trial.[2] Yet the Puritans enjoyed their liberty of thought and of worship in peace at Leiden

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 10.

[2] Carleton, *Letters*, pp. 329, 330, 386, 389, 390, 405, 423.

and Middelburg, and were at one with their Calvinist neighbours in opposing Arminian heresies.[1] It was not because of oppression, but because they did not wish their sons to become Dutchmen that they planned the expedition of the Pilgrim Fathers and brought in a new world to redress the balance of the old.

It was on June 19th that the States of Holland confirmed the sentence of the Synod against the men who had been summoned to Dort. On July 2nd they appeared, by order, at the Hague to hear what their fate was to be. The same day the States-General resolved that if the Remonstrants agreed to cease both in public and private from all the duties of a preacher, to reside where the States decreed, and to obey the magistrates they should receive half a year's salary and be left in peace; otherwise they were to be banished from the country. They were called in one by one before the States next day, and asked to sign the Act of Cessation. Henry Leo alone yielded; the rest were resolute in their determination not to keep silence. They were given little time to settle their affairs, for at 4 o'clock in the morning of July 6th they were called up to leave the land of liberty. They set out in nine wagons in a heavy shower of rain, which did not prevent the assembly of a great crowd of spectators. Episcopius and ten others went just across the frontier to Waalwijk in Brabant, while three more went into the area of Bentheim and Cleve. A fortnight later the little colony at Waalwijk was increased by the arrival of van den Borre and six others.[2] The unfortunate Vorstius was also ordered to leave the country within six weeks, but he managed to lie hid in the neighbourhood of Utrecht for nearly three years. Meanwhile, the Act of Cessation was carried round from Synod to Synod, and preachers, professors, schoolmasters, and even organists were pressed to sign the Dort Canons and to agree to keep silence on all Arminian themes. The Latin taught

[1] See Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 290–1.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 341–50; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 6; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 375.

in the schools was to be good Calvinist Latin, the Hebrew, philosophy and jurisprudence of the University were to be after the pattern of the Reformed Church, and the organs were to sound forth in the churches true Genevan music. It seems that within a year about 200 preachers were expelled, 80 of whom were driven into exile, while about 70 agreed to keep silence. Many of these at a later date found the restrictions too painful, and were found lifting up the Arminian banner again.[1] Leiden University saw remarkable changes. Its curators were changed, Barnevelt's judges taking the place of his friend Mathenesse and his son-in-law van der Myle. Bertius and three other professors were dismissed. Vossius, who was now the most famous teacher in the University, was removed from his position as Regent of the Theological College, and Festus Hommius secured the post he had long coveted and became the successor of Episcopius.[2] He celebrated the promotion by appearing in a black silk gown with a velvet border, in which the name Leiden was worked in silver. In the following year a still greater honour was conferred on him : he was sent to England to present a copy of the *Acts* of the Synod to James I, and received in return a present of a gold cup and salver from that impoverished monarch.

It was not enough to silence and expel the leaders of the Remonstrant party. Arrangements were made to suppress all secret gatherings, and every attempt at schismatic worship within the territory of the United Provinces. Maurice was determined that they should be rooted out. "I know nothing more odious to His Excellency," says Carleton, "than the name of an Arminian."[3] At the end of July and the beginning of August placards were issued throughout all the Provinces by the orders of the States-General by which the Remonstrants were forbidden "to set up any separate meetings, or to teach any doctrine tending to promote the Five

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 9; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 9–10.
[2] Wagenaar, X, 388.
[3] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 410.

Points, or anything relating thereto; or to make any expositions, or to read the Scripture, or to perfor many kind of Divine Service, or administration of the Sacraments, or to treat upon any articles of the Reformed Religion, after any manner differing from the Decisions of the aforesaid Synod, whether it be by way of catechisation, or any other form of discourse. Moreover, that none of the inhabitants of these Provinces shall presume to be present at the said unlawful meetings, either by Day or by Night, in any Churches, Houses, Barns, Warehouses, or in Fields, Ships, Barges, Boats or any other places whatsoever."[1] It was also forbidden to collect money for the Remonstrant funds, and heavy fines and other penalties were threatened against those who offended against these regulations. It was in vain that Remonstrant towns pleaded for liberty of worship. On November 29th Carleton wrote home to say that a petition of Leiden to that effect had been thrown out without reply the previous day. "There will be no more such petitions."[2]

In the face of this alarming situation the Remonstrant exiles resolved to keep their congregations in being, to send preachers regularly through the provinces and to build up a fully organized society. Grevinchoven had now found it necessary to join Wtenbogaert at Antwerp. At the end of May he had refused to answer a summons to the Hague, and a sentence of banishment had been passed against him. A month earlier he had received a letter from Wtenbogaert urging the need of an immediate attempt to organize their scattered communities.[3] Now they were both exiles they were able to make their plans together. They were delighted at the firm attitude of their Dort representatives, and after their exile to Waalwijk soon entered into correspondence with them with a view to holding a general conference if it were possible. There was urgent need for some plan of life for many of them, since the judgment of

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, III, 399–402; Baudart, *Memoryen*, XII, 2–4.
[2] Carleton, *Letters*, p. 419.
[3] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 219.

exile carried it with it the confiscation of their property. Wtenbogaert felt most deeply the loss of his library, and though his wife was still occupying her house at the Hague, it was only for a season. She was soon to join him at Antwerp.

Some scandal was raised in Contra-Remonstrant circles by the fact that the exiles both at Waalwijk and Antwerp were so well received by their Catholic neighbours. Episcopius and his friends dined with the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc at the Nunnery, and Wtenbogaert was actually summoned to Brussels to interview Spinola. Doubtless the government of the Spanish provinces was not at all sorry to see this cleavage in the ranks of their opponents. If they had any hopes that the Remonstrants were ready to enter into a political alliance with them, or to join the Church of Rome, they were soon undeceived. Nevertheless, they continued to give the exiles a friendly reception, and it was in a jeweller's house in Antwerp between September 30th and October 4th that the Remonstrants' Conference was held. Twenty-eight persons were present, and much important business was done. It was decided to send circular letters to the congregations in the United Provinces, to collect money for the support of the ministry, and to keep sixteen ministers regularly employed there. This dangerous task was not to be allotted to Wtenbogaert, Grevinchoven, Episcopius, Charles Nielle, Corvinus or Poppius. They were to form the general committee of management. More ministers were needed, and therefore students must be trained. Episcopius was to draw up a declaration of faith and to prepare a reply to the *Acts* of the Dort Synod.[1] They also received into their communion two dangerous allies in the persons of Vorstius and Slatius. Neither of them were ever employed again as Remonstrant preachers. There was no future for Vorstius, while the turbulent Hendrik Slaet brought them nothing but trouble. He was allowed to manage the printing press for a time, but soon quarrelled over money and was expelled. Returning to Holland, he

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 21–4; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 31–3.

became involved in the plot against Prince Maurice, and perished on the scaffold on May 5th, 1623.[1]

The task of these wandering preachers was a very dangerous one. In towns like Rotterdam, Hoorn, Gouda and Leiden they had many friends, but they were surrounded by spies. Large rewards were offered by the Government to informers. At the beginning of September as many as 5,000 were present in a field at Rotterdam, at the first Remonstrant meeting. At the next gathering English and Scottish soldiers in the pay of the States fired on the 2,000 people who gathered. Several casualties took place, and many women who were present were shamefully abused. At Kampen, where the churches were shut by the magistrates, the people assembled in the streets to receive the Sacrament. In winter many skated great distances to worship; one of the Remonstrant preachers who could never be taken earned the nickname of the Ice Bird. The wife of Naeranus, when she was dying, petitioned for permission for her husband to come to see her. It was refused, but spies were posted round the house in case he ventured. Fortunately for his own safety, he knew nothing of his wife's illness and never came. In similar circumstances, Theophilus Rijckewaert persuaded a friend to carry him in a large hamper to his wife's house in Amsterdam, where he remained until her death. Several preachers who were taken were imprisoned and set to hard labour; but it is surprising how many of them escaped.[2] The greatest disaster to the Remonstrant cause occurred on January 21st, 1623, when Poppius and Charles Nielle were captured at Haarlem, where they had gone as peacemakers.[3] During the excitement created by the plot of Barnevelt's sons both preachers were threatened with the rack in the hope that they would involve the Arminians in that bad business. They were eventually sent to Loevestein for imprisonment for life.

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 537; cf. Motley, *Barneveld*, II, 426, 427, 438.

[2] For these cases and other adventures see Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, passim.

[3] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 436–47.

Not only was it dangerous to preach in the Remonstrant cause, it was dangerous to collect money or distribute literature, and equally dangerous to give the one or receive the other. Yet in spite of all dangers the work went on, and the generosity of the persecuted people was astonishing. As many as 31,000 guilders were collected annually, "the middling people" being declared to be "always the most generous."[1] Poor people were even fined for listening to letters from their absent ministers. Still the Remonstrant literature circulated in spite of prohibitions. At the beginning of 1620 orders were given that none of their books should be brought into the country from the Frankfort fair. A little later the official *Acts* of the Synod were published, and the Remonstrants promptly replied with their *Antidote*. Laymen as well as preachers were involved in these troubles. Rem Bischop had to leave his home at Amsterdam for months together in order to be safe. A merchant's business could hardly thrive under such conditions. There is little wonder that some thought of finding peace and prosperity elsewhere. Heidelberg appealed to a few, but the Elector was soon involved in the disasters of the Thirty Years' War. Denmark, Poland, Sweden were in turn regarded as places of refuge, but the likeliest offer came from the Duke of Holstein, and an Arminian town was actually established at Frederickstadt on the Eider. It did not have a very prosperous history, for it suffered considerably from floods, and men were very reluctant to leave their native land, however difficult life might be there.[2] The termination of the twelve years' truce with Spain made it necessary for Wtenbogaert to leave Antwerp. He had lost by the death of the widow of William the Silent at Fontainebleau in October 1620 his chief friend in the house of Orange. The same month had seen the Huguenot Synod of Alez confirm the findings of the Synod of Dort, and go a step further by ordering its

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 309.

[2] Ibid., IV, 65–71, 328; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 65.

preachers to take an oath of allegiance to them.[1] This could hardly have pointed to France as a refuge for the old Arminian leader, nor the fact that Bertius had now definitely joined the Church of Rome, and was professor of rhetoric at the Becordian College in Paris[2]; yet it was to France that he was destined to go. The truce came to an end in April 1621, and a meeting of Remonstrant preachers was held at Antwerp in the preceding February to decide what their future plans were to be. It was decided that Wtenbogaert and van den Borre should go to Paris, while Episcopius and Cupus made a reconnaissance to Cologne; from the report of these expeditions they would be able to know what to do. The Cologne visit was not a success, as the Remonstrants were ordered out of the town as soon as the authorities heard of their presence. The Romanists in the Spanish Netherlands, on the other hand, pressed Wtenbogaert to remain; but no bribes could make him other than a Protestant and a Dutchman. Brussels was left on March 14th and Wtenbogaert was welcomed at Paris by Tilenus and François d'Or, a Huguenot professor and preacher respectively from Sedan who had been expelled by the Synod of Alez for their Remonstrant views. The real business at Paris was to secure a promise of toleration from the French Government. Wtenbogaert interviewed the diplomats Jeannin and de Boisisse, who were known to him, and had been true friends of Barnevelt. They did not hesitate to express their indignation at the cruelty and injustice of Maurice and his people, and assured Wtenbogaert of their protection if he should come to France. At the same time the Government of Louis XIII was for the moment none too friendly to Protestants, and was about to engage in a new civil war with the Huguenots.[3]

Wtenbogaert was back in Brussels by May 4th, but he

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 192; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 67; Wagenaar, X, 407.

[2] Baudart, *Memoryen*, XIII, 61–2.

[3] See Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 70–6, for interesting account of these conversations.

had to wait until July before Episcopius returned from Cologne. They then decided that these two, with Grevinchoven and Cupus, should settle in France and direct all the affairs of the Remonstrant communities that could be dealt with abroad, while van den Borre, Poppius and Charles Nielle should undertake the more dangerous task of directing the work in the United Provinces. Rouen was chosen as the new headquarters of the Remonstrant general staff abroad, and they arrived there at the end of August ; there they remained until the end of the summer of 1622, when an outbreak of plague drove them back to Paris, not to return until June 1623. They were met with the greatest friendliness by the Roman Catholic leaders, and could worship in their own houses and administer the sacraments, but were not permitted to open a public place of prayer.

The chief event of Wtenbogaert's first visit to Paris was his meeting with Grotius, who had made a sensational escape from his prison at Loevestein. He had spent nearly two years in that gloomy castle of despair. Situated at the junction of the Waal and the Meuse, it lay among the waters an impregnable fortress. Once inside Grotius and Hogerbeets passed through thirteen locked and bolted doors before they reached their separate rooms. They were not permitted to see each other, but their wives might visit them, cook for them and visit the neighbouring town of Gorcum to make purchases. The property of the prisoners was confiscated, and they were allowed a small pittance for daily supplies. It was a hard fate for one of Europe's greatest statesmen and scholars at the early age of thirty-six. For exercise he secured a large top and whipped it for an hour at a time. His friends were allowed to send him books, and he received them by the hamperful at a time. By this means he was able to produce during these years at least two books of permanent value which showed the versatile nature of his genius ; one was an *Introduction to the Jurisprudence of Holland*, and the other a *Commentary on the Four Gospels*. The death of the wife of Hogerbeets, leaving her six children to the

care of her husband, added new sorrow to the prisoners. It was the visits of Mme de Groot to Gorcum, her friendship with the family of a merchant there named Daatselaer and the use of a large chest for conveying books to the prisoner that provided the opportunity to escape. After practising lying in this four-foot chest for two hours at a time, Grotius determined to risk the adventure. The scheme was arranged and carried through on Monday, March 22nd, by the cleverness and courage of Mme de Groot, helped by the good sense of the maidservant who had been let into the secret and accompanied the precious case on its journey across the river to the house of the Daatselaers at Gorcum. When the soldiers lifted the chest one of them said, "The Arminian must be in it himself, it seems so heavy." "Not the Arminian," said Mme de Groot, who lay in bed with the curtains close drawn, "only heavy Arminian books."[1] The only ventilation was through the keyhole. It was two miles to Gorcum; the river was in flood, and there was a whole series of difficulties all the way. Nevertheless, they safely surmounted them all, and Grotius slipped over the frontier disguised as a working mason in a slouch hat and clothes that were much too small for him. Between 12 and 1 on the morning of the next day he was at the house of Grevinchoven at Antwerp, receiving a rapturous welcome as one alive from the dead. Episcopius and others soon gathered to share the good news. Declining the approaches of the Government of the Spanish Netherlands, he made his way to Paris,where he met Wtenbogaert on April 13th. He was refused communion with the Huguenot congregation at Charenton, and turned the more eagerly to his Arminian friends for spiritual food. Later in the year Episcopius is found preaching at his house. He was soon at work publishing to the world his defence of the policy which led to his imprisonment and the execution of John of Oldenbarnevelt. It was the most effective criticism of the States that had yet appeared, and must

[1] C. Brandt, *Leven*, VI, 242–76; cf. vivid account in Motley's *John of Barneveld*; also Hamilton Vreeland, *Hugo Grotius*, pp. 130–46.

have put the Synod of Dort in a new setting to many who were prepared to give the other side a fair hearing.[1] This was followed after some interval by his great book, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, in which he may be said to have laid the foundations of international law. He proves his loyalty to the Arminian cause throughout his *Apology*, and he was constantly being consulted by the Arminian leaders as to the policy they should pursue; but it was not his business as a layman to take any part in the direction of the preachers who were risking their lives for their cause in Holland.

The years 1622 and 1623 were the most difficult that they had yet faced. The death of prominent men of either party like Vorstius and Plancius made little difference to the contest; but the Remonstrants lost by death also several of their active evangelists. Others were imprisoned, including two of their directors, Poppius and Charles Nielle, who were seized at Haarlem in January 1623.[2] Poppius died in the castle of Loevestein in the following year, and the Arminian cause lost one of the most honourable, enthusiastic and conciliatory teachers it had yet produced. The chief disaster of 1623 was, however, the plot of the sons of Barnevelt against the life of Prince Maurice. While this was in no sense an Arminian scheme, there were several Arminians involved in it, and it was but natural that popular indignation should turn upon the movement with which the Barnevelts had been so closely connected. William, the younger son of the great statesman, Lord of Stoutenburg, was removed from his post as governor of Bergen-op-Zoom after his father's execution. This loss, together with the confiscation of his father's estates, reduced him to beggary and obscurity, and turned his hatred against the Stadholder as the cause of his ruin. In a revengeful mood he met the violent Slatius, who had returned to Holland after the Remonstrant community at Antwerp

[1] *Apologeticus eorum qui Hollandiæ Westfrisiæque et vicinis quibusdam nationibus ex legibus præfuerunt ante mutationem quæ evenit anno* 1618. Dated 1622.

[2] Wagenaar, X, 447; Regenboog, *Historie*, II, 342–8.

had expelled him from their fellowship. They found others who shared their deep hatred for Prince Maurice (some Catholics and some Remonstrants), and at the end of 1622 drew up a plan to assassinate the Prince at Rijswijk, where he drove daily without a guard. Assassins were to be hired for this dastardly plan and, to raise money for this purpose, Stoutenburg approached his elder brother, the Lord of Groeneveld, and his brother-in-law, van der Myle. The latter rejected the whole scheme with indignation, but the former was weak enough to yield to repeated pressure, and thus became involved in the plot.[1] February 6th, 1623, had been fixed as the day for the murder, but it was postponed a day, and in the meanwhile four of the hirelings went to Maurice and disclosed the whole plot. Some of the conspirators were seized with a chest of arms at an inn at the Hague, others escaped with a price on their heads. The ringleader Stoutenburg escaped out of the country altogether, and lived to serve in the Spanish ranks against his country. His brother was less fortunate, for he was captured on the island of Vlieland on February 19th. His execution was rendered memorable by great words spoken by the two women who were nearest to him. His broken-hearted mother went to Maurice and pleaded for his life. He asked why she should ask for mercy for her son, when she had refused to do it for her husband. "My husband was innocent," was her reply, "but my son is guilty." The night before his death he was visited in prison by his wife, his mother and his little son. They parted from him in sobs and tears, and in great distress he exclaimed to his wife, "What a sorrowful widow you are going to be!" Suddenly aroused to a new dignity she answered, "My dearest, in return for all my troubles do me the honour of dying like a gentleman."[2] He carried out her request, and died with outward composure, saying to the spectators, "Desire of vengeance and evil counsel have brought me

[1] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 450–3 for full details; Baudart, *Memoryen*, XV, 28–98; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 94; Wagenaar, X, 450–79.

[2] Brandt, *Hist. of Ref.*, IV, 519–20; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 85.

here. If I have wronged any man among you, I beg him for Christ's sake to forgive me."[1] Slatius was taken as he was slipping over the frontier into Germany, giving himself away by leaving an inn hurriedly and an untasted can of beer behind him. This unwonted behaviour on the part of a peasant, whom he pretended to be, caused his ruin, and made Hendrik Slaet a public-house proverb. Fourteen persons who were implicated in this plot were executed in the months of February, March, May and June 1623, and popular feeling turned against the Arminians more strongly than ever. Some preachers made their peace with the Calvinists and others found it prudent to leave the country for the time being. In France, Wtenbogaert and Episcopius were far from happy. They could do nothing to help the cause, and they were subject to the constant ill-will of the French Calvinists. They had made a resolve to leave the country and settle in Hamburg, and were actually on board a ship at Havre that was to carry them there when they discovered that they were known and had been sold to the States Government.[2] There was nothing for it but to return to Rouen, and "here I sit," said Wtenbogaert, "like a bird that cannot sing."[3]

On April 23rd, 1625, Maurice passed from the scene of action after some months of illness. The lustre of his achievements on the field of battle had been dimmed by the harsh injustice of his treatment of Barnevelt. However vigorous he was as a soldier, he was normally lethargic as a statesman. "Maurice had seized the power, which lay ready to his hand, only when his passions were roused by a violent political crisis, and then only to let it slip, almost heedlessly, from his grasp again as soon as he had gained his end."[4] He never relaxed his remorseless attitude to the Arminians, and even Wtenbogaert declared that he had a "heart of steel,"

[1] Baudart, *Memoryen*, XV, 46; Wagenaar, X, 473–5.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 100.
[3] *Brieven Wten.*, No. 310.
[4] *English Historical Review*, 1923, p. 355, Dr. P. Geyl on Frederick Henry of Orange and King Charles I.

when he met every petition with contemptuous silence. Hopes were now raised when he was succeeded by his brother Frederick Henry, who was well known to have differed in opinion from his brother on this question. The new Stadholder was the son of Louise de Coligny, the steady friend of Wtenbogaert until her death. When Maurice went with the great procession of Contra-Remonstrants to take possession of the Cloister Church, Frederick Henry had continued for some time with his mother attending the Great Church where the court chaplain still preached. He had even interviewed Wtenbogaert during his exile at Antwerp, but could do little more than exhort him to be patient in his tribulations.[1] Now he was compelled to move cautiously. The war with Spain was going none too well. He was surrounded by Calvinist patricians and officials, and the authority of the States seemed greater than ever. "He was not merely courteous and affable, he was subservient." This was, however, but the cloak for ambitious designs, and he was able gradually to assert his authority. Gradually, therefore, the persecution of the Arminians was lessened and they began to return to Holland, hoping for complete toleration. In June Wtenbogaert wrote a letter to the Prince pleading for the prisoners at Loevestein, and for freedom of worship. He received an indirect expression of good will, but no definite promise.[2] Deeds were better than words. Van der Myle and other members of the vanquished party were received back into favour. Hogerbeets was released from his long imprisonment in Loevestein, although the Remonstrant preachers were still left there. It was a sad blow to his friends when the fellow victim of Barnevelt and Grotius died after two short months of freedom.[3] At the beginning of 1626 Wtenbogaert wrote again to the Prince, and received an evasive reply; but he was led to believe that it might soon be safe for him to bring his years of exile to a close. Frederick Henry would never take the

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 51.
[2] Ibid., III, 113.
[3] Vreeland, *Hugo Grotius*, p. 163; Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 105.

responsibility of calling him back. The Remonstrants began to meet for worship again at Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Hoorn and other places. The conventicle acts were administered with great moderation.[1] Rotterdam was the safest town of all for the Remonstrants, and Grevinchoven returned there in March 1626, being followed in the summer by Episcopius. With what joy did they welcome Wtenbogaert, who joined them without warning on September 26th. Even his wife, who was living at the Hague, did not know he was back in his native land again till she met him at Rotterdam a few days later. There was need for caution. His letters had been seized, but nothing treasonable had been found in them. The Synods were pleading for the full administration of all the Acts against the Remonstrants. When Wtenbogaert went to the Hague at the end of the year Frederick Henry was much too cautious to grant him an audience. He threw his letters into the fire, but sent him messages by word of mouth, assuring him of his good will and bidding him be careful and wait his time.[2]

The year 1628 was a year of vain attempts to secure toleration. There was little persecution, but the Synods made repeated attempts to renew the policy of complete suppression. At Amsterdam, where the Remonstrants had gathered a congregation of 200, the violent preaching of Smout and Trigland created a riot. They said that the disasters of the war were a judgment of God on the growth of Arminianism.[3] The Hague and Rotterdam might appeal for freedom of worship, but no satisfaction was to be found. The conventicles were still forbidden by the law of the land; but the law was becoming inoperative, for in 1630 Amsterdam and Rotterdam were building Remonstrant Churches. In vain Walaeus endeavoured to close Leiden University to the Remonstrants; he was compelled to devise a scheme by which they could be readmitted.[4] The

[1] Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 115.
[2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 133.
[3] Cf. Le Clerc, *Histoire*, II, 87 and 132 for Smout.
[4] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, p. 305.

strife of pamphlets was renewed, and no writings were more weighty than those of Episcopius and Wtenbogaert. In the same year (1630) they lost one of their oldest and truest colleagues by the death of Adriaan van den Borre at Amsterdam.[1] He had been the friend and disciple of Arminius, and had shared the heaviest trials of the fellowship. On July 20th, 1631, the good news was received that the seven imprisoned preachers had escaped from the castle of Loevestein, not apparently without the connivance of the Government.[2] This seemed to mark the end of the days of persecution ; a new dawn of hope had shone forth.

It now seemed possible that even Grotius should venture home again. His life seemed to be wasting away in exile, and though the French King had promised him a pension, it was never received. Boldly he made a public farewell to Louis XIII, and appeared at Rotterdam on October 31st, 1631.[3] He made no attempt to hide his presence, but went down to see the new statue of Erasmus,[4] the man of that city most akin in spirit to himself. He was safe there, for the magistracy was again entirely friendly to the Arminians. The States of Holland showed a less kindly aspect in December. Still, Grotius spent three months in Amsterdam in the New Year. The States of Holland continued to discuss his case until on April 7th they put a reward of 2,000 guilders on his head.[5] Neither Frederick Henry nor any of his friends were able to help him. The Republic could make no use of the greatest Dutchman of the day. Once more he took up the weary cross of exile, and on April 17th bade his country good-bye for ever. For a time he lodged with the Remonstrant preacher Matthisius at Hamburg. Two years later he was called by the Swedish Chancellor Oxenstiern to Frankfort-on-the-Main, and entered into the service of that

[1] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 231.
[2] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, pp. 311–13.
[3] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 279 ; C. Brandt, *Leven*, p. 406.
[4] Ibid., p. 409.
[5] Ibid., p. 430.

country, renouncing his Dutch allegiance.[1] At the beginning of 1635 he went back to Paris as the Ambassador of Sweden, and remained there until 1645, when he asked for his recall. At Stockholm he found himself no more at home than he had latterly been at Paris. He was returning when he was driven ashore by a storm near Dantzig. He travelled as far as Rostock, where he became seriously ill. A Scottish physician named Stockman was called in to see him, and a Lutheran professor named Quistorpius read to him the story of the Pharisee and the Publican from the Gospels. "I am that publican," said Grotius. He died soon after on August 29th, 1645, at the age of sixty-two. The seventeenth century had no more versatile genius. He was great as a scholar, a statesman, a jurist, a theologian and an historian. In his later years he was greatly interested in the question of the reunion of the divided Christian Church, but there is no proof that he ever had any intention of joining the Roman communion.[2]

We have allowed Grotius to take us ahead of the main story. The revolts against ecclesiastical control gained a new victory by the opening at Amsterdam at the beginning of 1632 of a new college, which should become a more secular rival of Leiden. Its two chief leaders were the ex-Leiden professors van Baerle and Vossius, both of whom had been suspected of Arminianism. Here was the chance for the establishment of a Remonstrant theological school which Wtenbogaert had long desired. It was not until 1634 that he was able to persuade the Rotterdam Church to release Episcopius for this new task, and in October of that year the latter opened a house at Rotterdam with seven students.[3] The organization of the Remonstrants as a separate Church was now complete. All talk of reconciliation with the State Church had long since departed. One by one

[1] Cattenburg, *Vervolg der historie van het leven des heeren Huig de Groot*, pp. 5–8.

[2] Cattenburg, *Vervolg*, pp. 409–12; Wagenaar, XI, 149.

[3] Limborch, *Historia Vitæ S.E.*, pp. 313–16; Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 300.

the chief actors of the drama passed away. Rosaeus died in April 1637, and was followed by Episcopius six years later. Grevinchoven, Tilenus, Bogerman, Walaeus, Baudart, van der Myle, had already gone. Wtenbogaert was almost the last to depart. He fell asleep on the Sunday evening, September 4th, 1644, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. As a boy he had lived through the first movements of the "Beggars" towards the liberty of the States, and through the heroic siege of Leiden; as a young man he had known the great days of William the Silent, and after his assassination had lived at the very centre of the national life and been the chief confidant of Holland's greatest statesman. The friend of Arminius and soul of the Remonstrant movement, he survived the darkest days, and lived on to welcome the possibility of the final triumph of his cause.

The establishment of a Remonstrant Church was the least result of this movement. It was a challenge to absolutism in Protestant theology which was alive with many possibilities for the future history of the progress of thought. A nineteenth-century theologian may readily see the good both in the Arminian and the Calvinist doctrine. So Dr. Dale wrote: "To saintly men who held the Calvinistic creed, which to us seems so hard, so severe, so intolerable, it was radiant with the glow and glory of that passionate joy in the divine love which Paul expresses in the early part of the Epistle to the Ephesians. When they contended for the Calvinistic theory of the divine decrees, they only meant that all things come to us from God, that our redemption from sin and our eternal glory are the result of His free and spontaneous love. When they said revolting and incredible things concerning the depravity of human nature, and maintained that all the actions of unregenerate men are sinful, that the very virtues of the unregenerate, their justice, their truthfulness, their generosity, their compassion for suffering, are but splendid vices, they meant that we were made to illustrate a divine righteousness, and that apart from union with

God this righteousness is impossible. When they declared that 'Man by his fall into a state of sin hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation,' this was nothing more than an attempt to say that all the springs of human goodness are in God. When they insisted that Christ's 'obedience and satisfaction' are imputed to us by God, and that by this imputation we are justified, this was only an artificial and unfortunate way of saying that we owe all things to the infinite grace of God, and that God's grace is ours through our union with Christ. Their most extravagant and daring and appalling statements concerning the divine predestination of the lost to dishonour, wrath and everlasting death were but the endeavour of devout men, who were filled with immeasurable wonder and thankfulness by their own salvation, to translate into a theological system their profound conviction that they had no stronger claims on the mercy of God than any of those who had been condemned to eternal destruction, and that their salvation was to be ascribed, and ascribed without reserve, to the unsearchable riches of God's grace.

"To us it has become apparent that the theory in which they defined the relations between God and the human race involved the greatest slanders both on the divine justice and the divine love. But we should not forget that to men of the loftiest genius, and the noblest and most heroic piety, this theory has appeared to contain the only satisfactory account of the mystery and glory of the moral universe. To them God was infinitely great and glorious, and the theology of Augustine and Calvin asserted His greatness and His glory. We have learned that man, who was created to bear the image of God, and to share the sonship of Christ, has also an august dignity, that man's will as well as God's will has authority and force. It is not easy in any scheme of human thought to find room for man when any adequate place has been given to the supremacy of God; but place must be found for both. Of the two extremes—the suppression of man, which was the offence of Cal-

vinism, and the suppression of God, which was the offence against which Calvinism so fiercely protested—the fault and error of Calvinism was the nobler and grander. The history of the Augustinian and Calvinistic theology in its best times is a fresh and striking illustration of the eternal law, 'He that loseth his life shall save it'; for the most heroic forms of human courage, strength and righteousness have been found in men who in their theology seemed to deny the possibility of human virtue and made the will of God the only real force in the moral universe."[1] Men were far from thinking like that in the seventeenth century. When Poppius, the most benign of the Arminian leaders, died in his Loevestein prison, the local Calvinist preacher refused to help in the burial of a destroyer of souls. "These men," said Wtenbogaert, "have the hearts of tigers."[2] There may be a higher unity of truth where Calvinist and Arminian find peace together, but it was inevitable that followers of Calvin should see in any challenge to his system the beginning of wholesale scepticism and the ultimate downfall of the Faith.

[1] Dale, *Ephesians*, pp. 50–2. [2] Rogge, *Joh. Wten.*, III, 90.

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